

STATISTICAL
DESCRIPTIVE AND HISTORICAL ACCOUNT

OF THE

C A W N P O R E D I S T R I C T.

FROM MATERIALS SUPPLIED AND FAIRLY PREPARED

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STATISTICAL AND DESCRIPTIVE ACCOUNT OF THE NORTH-WESTERN PROVINCES.

CAWNPORE (KANHPUR) DISTRICT.

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• Gazetteer of the district. •

CAWNPORE (Kánhpur), a district¹ of the Allahabad division, lies entirely within the Duáb. It is bounded on the north-east by the river Ganges, which separates it from Oudh; on the south and south-west by the river Jumna, which forms the boundary between it and the

¹This notice has been contributed mainly by Mr. F. N. Wright, C.S., who adopts as materials his own final settlement report and the pargannah rent-rate reports written by himself, Mr. Buck, and Mr. H. F. Evans; notes by Mr. Clarmont Daniell, late Collector of Cawnpore; Mr. (now Sir Robert) Montgomery's District Memoir of 1848; the settlement reports of Mr. Rose and Mr. (now Sir William) Muir; a vernacular account of the district by Lala Dargáhi Sahi; and the records of the Board of Revenue.

CAWNPORE.

Jalaun and Hamirpur districts; on the south-east by parganahs Bindki and Kora of the Fatehpur district; and on the west by parganahs Thattia and Kanauj of the Farrukhabad district, and parganahs Phaphund and Adraiya of the Etawa district. The Cawnpore district lies between $25^{\circ} 56' 15''$ and $26^{\circ} 57'$ north latitude, and $79^{\circ} 34' 45''$ and $80^{\circ} 38'$ east longitude, and has an area of 1,495,621 acres, or 2330.65 square miles, of which 861,574 acres are cultivated, and 222,971 acres, including groves, are culturable, and 408,073, including roads, village sites, and canals, are unculturable. In 1865 the population numbered 1,064,095 souls, and in 1872 there were 1,156,188 inhabitants, or 495 to the square mile, of whom 1,065,786 were Hindus, 89,215 were Musalmans, and 1,487 were Christians and others, neither Musalmán nor Hindú.¹ In shape the district resembles a four unequal-sided figure, the angles being situated north, south, east, and west; the greatest length from north to south is about seventy miles, and from east to west is about sixty-four miles.

For the purposes of revenue and general administration the district has been divided into nine taluk, or fiscal subdivisions. In the time of Akbar these were all included in Sirkárs Kanauj and Kalpi, belonging to Subah Agra, or in Sirkár Kora, belonging to Subah Allahabad. The relative position of the old and the new parganahs will easily be understood from the following table:—

Parganahs in Akbar's time	Belonging to Sukar.	Now included in	Parganahs in Akbar's time.	Belonging to Sirkár.	Now included in
Bilhaur ...	Kanauj ...	Bilhaur ...	Biláspur ...	Kalpi ...	Dera-Mangalpur
Dooha ...	...	...	Derapur ...	...	...
Nánámau ...	...	...	Bithur (part),	Kanauj ...	Jájmáu
Malkonsa ...	...	Rasúlabad ...	Jájmáu ...	Kora ...	...
Shidli ...	...	Shiurájpur ...	Muhámpur ...	...	...
Bithur (part),	...	...	Majhawan ...	...	Sárh-Salempur (part).
Bára ...	...	Akbarpur ...	Kora ...	...	...
Shahpur ...	Kalpi ...	Bhognipur ...	Ghátampur ...	...	Ghátampur

Bilhaur and Dooha remained separate parganahs until the cession to the British. Nánámau was included in Bilhaur during the Oudh administration by Almas Ali Khán, but subsequent to the cession several villages were transferred from the united parganah to parganah Rasúlabad and parganah Thattia.

¹ Mr. Plowden's report on the census in 1872 gives the total population in the general statement of area and population as 1,156,439 souls; subsequently the details show these as made up of 1,065,786 Hindus, 89,215 Musalmáns, and 433 Christians. In the statement showing nationalities, castes, and tribes we have the same number of Musalmáns and Hindus, 416 Christians, and 1,094 Non-Asiatics, who also must be included amongst Christians, but are not included in the parganah totals.

of the Farukhabad district. Malkonsa is unknown in the parganah; unless it be identified with Malgosa, celebrated in the following rhymes :—

"din-ka mālhu, rāt-ko masā, kya dekh Malgosa basa"

to which the following answer is given :—

"dudh bhāt aur machhli-ka rasa yeh dekh Malgosa basa,"

alluding to the large area of low swampy land found in the parganah, which although it breeds large numbers of mosquitoes, also gives fish, rice, and ample grazing ground for cattle. Another saying commemorates the difficulty of realising the revenue in former times :—

"Rasūlabad Malgosa, tū pahar jūti tō'ek pahar paisa,

Rāt basen phir jama ka taise."

Elliot says that Malkonsa is the old name of Rasūlabad. Several villages have been transferred from Rasūlabad to Derapur, and one to Shiūli, and all still retain the local (kuchcha) bigha of their parent parganah in common use. Two villages have been received by Rasūlabad from the Bilhaur parganah.

Shiūli was formerly known as Shiūli-Sakrej, from the estates of the two Chandel chiefs, the Rāwat of Onha and the Rāna of Sakrej, but both names have now completely merged in the name Shiūrājpur. The parganah was formerly included in Bithūr, but the Chandel estates were soon separated, and after the cession taluka Barechāman was added from Bithūr, and the united tracts were known as Shiūrājpur-Barechāman for some time, but of late years the latter name has fallen into disuse.

Bithūr, one of the most ancient subdivisions of the country, has lost its individuality, having been gradually cut up, and its villages transferred to other parganahs; its complete annihilation was effected in 1860 A.D., when it was divided between the two fiscal subdivisions of Shiūrājpur and Jājmau. Bāra comprised the Mughal estate referred to hereafter, and was included in Akbarpur before the cession. Shāhpur took its name from a town on the banks of the Junna where now numberless ruins of tombs and temples speak of former magnificence. When Shāhpur became injured by the encroachments of the Junna the chief station of the parganah was removed to Hasnapur, of which only the Khera remains in the village of Bhojpura on the Rind, and thence again to Akbarpur, whence the name of Akbarpur-Shāhpur. In the records of the seventeenth century we find Shāhpur giving name to a separate Sirkār which comprised some twenty-five mahāls, among which were the parganahs of Patti Nakkāt, Suganpur, Bilāspur, Derapur, and Mangalpur, which were frequently given in jāgīr to a prince of the royal blood. At the cession Bhojnipur was separated from Akbarpur and formed into a separate parganah with the name

* Not Hājipur on the Senaur, as Elliot says in his Glossary.

of Bhognipur-Músanagar, now rarely used. At the last settlement several villages were transferred from Bhognipur to parganahs Akbarpur and Ghátampur; and several were taken from it and added to Shiúli. Biláspur, subsequently called Sikandra-Biláspur, remained a separate parganah till 1861, when it was amalgamated with parganah Dera-Mangalpur. From 1806 to 1840 it was the *jágír* of Narindurgír, heir of Himmat Bahádur, the well known Gosháin leader.¹ Derapur now includes the 52 villages formerly constituting the parganah Mangalpur, which had been bestowed as *jágír* on Mangal Khán, who changed the name Dera into Mangalpur. The villages were re-annexed to Derapur in 1216 *fusli*, and the parganah, including Sikandra, is now known as Dera-Mangalpur.

Jájmau is a very ancient territorial subdivision. It derived its name from Rájá Jijhat, the founder of the kingdom of Jajhoti in Bundelkhand, and who built here a fort overhanging the river Ganges, of which the mound still exists, a mile or so to the east of Cawnpore cantonments. In disgust at his failure to perform a "*jagya*" he is said to have given the fort and its dependencies to a man of the sweeper caste. It now gives its name to a parganah formed out of parts of parganahs Jájmau, Bithúr, Majhawan, Sárhendi (Montgomery), and Muhsanpur; the last three parganahs were absorbed in 1215 *fusli*, and Bithúr in 1860 A.D. Majhawan is still a large town in the south-east of parganah Jájmau. The fiscal headquarters adjoin the Collector's cutcherry. Sárh-Salempur is another conglomerate parganah, being formed after numerous transfers of villages taken from Jájmau, Majhawan, Muhsanpur, Ghátampur, and parganah Kora of the Fatehpur district. Salempur comprised originally the Bais estates, and Sárh the Gautam estates of the present parganah. The fiscal headquarters were removed to Narwal from Sárh as more centrally situated. Salempur too was often coupled with Domanpur as a parganah in our earlier records. Muhsanpur has been wrongly described by Mr. Elliot as now included in Sárh-Salempur. Ráwatpur-Maswánpur (locally so called) is the well-known seat of the Chandel-Ráwat "Gaddi" to the west of Cawnpore, and not in the southern angle of parganah Sárh, where a mere hamlet utterly belies any traditional notoriety. Ghátampur comprises the Dikhit territory referred to hereafter and 63 villages forming the subdivision Akbarpur-Bírbal, called after Akbar's famous Vazír and formerly included in Sháhpur. From 1215 *fusli* they have been completely amalgamated, and the name Akbarpur-Bírbal is almost forgotten. Some portion appears to have been known as parganah Shukrpur-Prás, but is now

¹ See Gazetteer, L, 41.

² *Ibid*, 49.

entirely merged in parganah Ghátampur. Besides the parganahs already enumerated, Cawnpore at the cession contained parganahs Auraiya, Kanauj, and Kora-Amoli, to which were subsequently added taluka Bhadeli and parganahs Thattia, Tirwa, and taluka Bhuna-Sirsi. Auraiya was subsequently transferred to Etáwa, Kora-Amoli to Fatehpur, and Kanauj, Thattia, and Tirwa to Farrukhabad.

Existing subdivisions:

The following statement shows the number of estates and other statistics of the existing subdivisions:—

Present tahsil.	Parganah.	Number of estates.	Land revenue in 1877.	Area in acres in 1877.	Population in 1872.	Population per square mile.
1 Bilhaur ...	Bilhaur ...	163	1,94,170	118,704	96,439	520
2 Shiurájpur ...	Shiurájpur ...	447	2,74,847	168,983	141,842	527
3 Rasúlábád ...	Rasúlábád ...	163	1,95,750	145,225	98,505	434
4 Jájmau ...	Jájmau ...	336	2,63,331	108,668	266,670	1,010
5 Sárh Salenipur ...	Sárh Salenipur ...	215	2,28,870	190,470	99,303	487
6 Akbarpur ...	Akbarpur ...	290	2,22,675	158,029	101,171	412
7 Dorapur ...	Dorapur ...	393	2,78,315	208,859	123,558	387
8 Bhognipur ...	Bhognipur ...	262	2,11,480	180,041	104,151	370
9 Ghátampur ...	Ghátampur ...	274	2,92,150	219,442	123,800	362
Total ...	...	2,550	21,61,588	1,495,621	1,155,439	490

After the cession two sadr amíns by the titles of mufti and pandit were appointed under section 26, Regulation XVI. of 1803, for Civil Courts. trying cases relating to moveable and immoveable property up to Rs. 100. The mufti drew a salary of Rs. 100, the pandit of Rs. 60 a month, with a fee of one anna in the rupee on each civil suit. There was no munsif. By Regulation XXIII. of 1814 the sadr amíns were empowered to try suits to the extent of Rs. 150, receiving as a remuneration for their trouble the price of stamp papers upon which the petitions of plaint were written. In the year 1817 a munsif was appointed to Kanauj and Thattia, and another to Sikandra and Auraiya, with powers to try cases relating to moveable property to the amount of Rs. 64, according to the provisions of Regulation XXIII. of 1814; the only remuneration they received was the value of the stamp duty on the petition of plaint. In the year 1818, owing to the increase of work, a third sadr amín was appointed under section 65 of the Regulation above cited, with the same powers and allowances as the others. By Regulation II. of 1821 the powers of the munsifs and sadr amíns were extended, the former being authorized to decide cases to the amount of Rs. 100, and the latter to the amount of Rs. 500. By Regulation XXIII. of

1824 monthly salaries of Rs. 100 each, with an allowance of Rs. 20 for establishment, were fixed for the sadr amins instead of the former mode of payment, and by Regulation IV. of 1827 they were empowered to try all original suits not exceeding Rs. 1,000, whether instituted by European British subjects or natives. When by Regulation I. of 1829 the trial of circuit criminal cases was transferred from the court of appeal at Bareilly to the Commissioners, the mufti of that court was appointed extra sadr amin in this district upon the salary of Rs. 200, which he drew from the court of circuit. On the 11th December, 1832, a new arrangement under Regulation V. of 1831 was made. A statement of the different offices of native judges then established, with their jurisdictions and allowances, is given below :—

Office	Jurisdiction	Allowances		
		Salary	Establishment	Total
Principal sadr amin	Suits not exceeding Rs. 5,000	Rs. 400	Rs. 100	Rs. 500
Sadr amin	Ditto ditto 1,000	250	50	300
Munsif of 1st division, city of Cawnpore	Ditto ditto 300	100	40	140
Ditto 2nd ditto, Gajner	Ditto ditto 300	150	40	140
Ditto 3rd ditto, Shivrampur	Ditto ditto 300	100	40	140
Ditto 4th ditto, Rasulabad	Ditto ditto 300	100	40	140

In the year 1836 the allowance for the principal sadr amin's establishment was increased to Rs. 150, for that of the sadr amin's to Rs. 80, and for that of the munsifs to Rs. 30. In this year the parganahs of Thattia, Auraiya, and Kanauj were transferred from this district to Farukhabad and Etáwa. Another munsif was subsequently appointed, and the munsifs were fixed as follows :—

1st division.—Comprising kotwáli of the city and thána Sirsaul.

2nd division.—Comprising thánas Colonolganj and Bithúr.

3rd division.—Comprising thánas Gajner, Ghátampur, Akbarpur, Majhawan, Sachendi, and Bhognipur.

4th division.—Comprising thánas Shiurájpur, Shiúli, Bilhaur, and Tishti.

5th division.—Comprising thánas Derapur, Rasulabad, Sikandra, and Mangalpur.

The cutcherry of the munsif of the fourth division was at first at Rasulabad, and was afterwards removed to Derapur. In February, 1846, on the completion of the re-arrangement of the revenue and police divisions, the

jurisdictions of the munsifi divisions were again altered and fixed with reference to them :—

- 1st division.—(City and cantonments of Cawnpore.
- 2nd division.—Parganahs Bithur and Jājmau.
- 3rd division.—Parganahs Sārā-Salempur, Akbarpur, and Ghātampur.
- 4th division.—Parganahs Bhognipur, Sikandra, and Derapur.
- 5th division.—Parganahs Bilhaur and Shiūrājpur.

The principal sadr amāin, subsequently known as subordinate judge, was in 1868 invested with the powers of a judge of a small cause court over the city and civil station, which powers were extended over the whole parganah of Jājmau in 1871. The munsifi at Derapur was reduced in 1862, its jurisdiction being included in that of Akbarpur, and that of Shiūrājpur was included in the jurisdiction of the munsifi of Cawnpore in 1867. In 1877 there was one subordinate judge, having the powers of a judge of a small cause court and jurisdiction in appeal cases and original suits in the whole district. There were three munsifs : (1) the city munsifi, with jurisdiction over parganah Jājmau, including the city of Cawnpore ; (2) the munsifi of Akbarpur, with jurisdiction over parganahs Derapur, Akbarpur, Bhognipur, Ghātampur, and Rasūlabad ; (3) the munsifi of Shiūrājpur, with jurisdiction over parganahs Shiūrājpur, Sārā-Salempur, and Bilhaur. The cantonment magistrate has jurisdiction in petty civil cases occurring within the boundaries of cantonments.

The number and distribution of magisterial and revenue officers have been given by Mr. Montgomery up to the year 1845. The ordinary executive staff consists of a magistrate and collector, a joint magistrate, and one or two assistant magistrates, of whom one is invested with full powers. In addition there are two deputy collectors, one of whom is in charge of the Government treasury. The tahsildārs of the nine parganahs are generally invested with magisterial and revenue powers of the lowest grade, and there are two honorary magistrates, Thākur Gyn Singh of Khānpur, with local jurisdiction in the parganah of Derapur, and Chaube Sidhāri Lal, with jurisdiction throughout the district, but practically exercised only in parganah Shiūrājpur. A military officer as cantonment magistrate has the powers of a joint magistrate within the cantonment boundaries. A deputy inspector of customs has his headquarters in Cawnpore, and there are two assistant deputy opium agents, one of whom has his headquarters at Ankin, in parganah Bilhaur ; the other at Cawnpore, with a branch establishment at Rūra, in parganah Akbarpur. There is a district superintendent of police, under whom is usually stationed an assistant district superintendent of police. The civil surgeon has charge of

the jail and city dispensaries, aided by an assistant surgeon. The executive engineer of the Ganges Canal, Cawnpore branch, has his headquarters in Cawnpore, as has also the assistant engineer in charge of the lower subdivision, with other assistants according to pressure of work. The executive engineer in charge of the Etáwa branch has his headquarters in Etáwa. A district engineer is in charge of the public works of the district, and there is a large railway staff connected with the East Indian and Oudh and Rohilkhand Railways. An inspector of post-offices and a deputy inspector of schools are also stationed in Cawnpore, and the Bank of Bengal is officered by an agent and (generally) an accountant. A branch of the Bank of Upper India (Limited) is located in cantonments; also managed by an agent and accountant.

The whole district is a large alluvial plain, generally level, with a slope General appearance: north-west to south-east, in which direction the country is almost universally drained, the exceptions being the small streams that run into the Ganges. The highest land is along the Ganges cliff and that portion of the district which lies between the rivers Songur and Jumna.

The following table of ascertained heights above the level of the sea in this district is compiled from the records of the great trigonometrical survey:—

Names of stations				Height in feet above mean sea level	Remarks, and description of stations
				Deducted by spirit levelling operations	
ON CAWNPORE BRANCH, GANGES CANAL.	Nánún junction	...	160	421 29	Plinth of milestone
	Kujauri bridge	...	..	423 63	Top of centre of west parapet wall.
	Railway culvert	...	...	416 38	Top of parapet of small culvert, about half a mile west of Cawnpore railway station.
	Old bench mark	..	...	415 96	Mark B□M cut on cornice over north archway of towing path of railway bridge, passing over Ganges Canal, and 13 yards from paká gate-post, north-west corner of bridge
	Cawnpore railway station	...	...	417 42	Coping of north passenger platform, exactly opposite centre of station.
ON EAST INDIAN RAILWAY.					

Names of stations		Height in feet above mean sea level.		Remarks, and description of stations.
		Deducted by spirit levelling operations		
ON EAST INDIAN RAILWAY	Cawnpore railway station ...	Mile-stone	415 71	Level of rails opposite centre of station-house. This height corresponds to a height of 216 00 feet above the datum of the Lucknow branch section of the Oudh railway.
	Nánún junction ...	168	412 91	Plinth of milestones.
	Ditto ...	169	409 86	
	Great trigonometrical survey bench-mark, Cawnpore.	...	407 75	Stone B.M. imbedded 7 feet south-east of canal milestone No 169. The top is about 6 inches above the surface of the ground.
	Grand Trunk Road ..	...	...	Top of milestone, which is near B.M.
	Allahabad ...	127	413 04	
	Dehli ...	261	413 75	
	Bridge over canal ...	...	...
	Nánún junction ...	139	451 62	Plinth of milestones.
	Ditto ...	130	449 58	
	Ditto ...	131	447 76	
	Ditto ...	132	448 78	
	Ditto ...	133	446 11	
	Ditto ...	135	415 25	
	Great trigonometrical survey bench-mark.	...	419 80	Stone B.M. imbedded two paces from north-east corner of Kakúna chauki.
	Nánún junction ...	138	441 59	Plinth of milestones.
	Ditto ...	139	439 62	
	Kúndan bridge ...	...	445 29	Top of centre of west parapet wall.
	Tartaul bridge ...	...	443 80	
	Nánún junction ...	143	436 67	Plinth of milestones.
	Ditto ...	145	435 49	
	Bhadsana bridge ...	...	440 57	Top of centre of west parapet wall.
	Nánún junction ...	148	433 54	Plinth of milestones.
	Ditto ...	147	431 74	
	Jagatpur bridge ...	...	438 67	Top of centre of west parapet wall.
	Great trigonometrical survey bench-mark, Jagatpur.	...	434 84	Stone B.M. imbedded 4 feet from north-east corner of Jagatpur signal chauki.

ON CAWNPORE BRANCH, GANGES CANAL.

Names of stations.				Height in feet above mean sea level.	Remarks, and description of stations.	
				Deducted by spirit levelling operations		
ON CAWNPORE BRANCH, GANGES CANAL—(concluded).	Nánún junction	...	...	148	431.05	Plinth of milestones.
	Ditto	...	...	149	431.05	
	Ditto	...	...	150	426.26	
	Ditto	...	...	151	429.54	
	Halkapúr bridge	...	...	...	432.14	Top of centre of west parapet wall.
	Nánún junction	...	...	154	425.43	Plinth of milestones.
	Ditto	...	...	156	424.78	
	Kalsauli bridge	...	...	...	429.82	Top of centre of west parapet wall.
	Nánún junction	...	...	157	423.71	Plinth of milestone
	Bárah bridge	...	...	...	428.22	Top of centre of west parapet wall.
ON E. I. RAILWAY.	Great trigonometrical survey bench-mark, Bárah.	...	...	...	424.10	Stone B.M. imbedded two paces from north-west corner of Bárah canal chauri.
	Allahabad	...	...	118	413.17.	Top of milestones.
	Ditto	...	...	117	413.28	
	Allahabad	...	...	122	410.34	
	Dehli	...	...	266	407.88	
	Allahabad	...	...	121	408.74	
	Dehli	...	...	267	408.74	
	Allahabad	...	...	120	408.74	
	Dehli	...	...	268	408.74	
	Jáymau s.	...	...	...	461.67	Upper mark stone. This station is situated on the eastern extremity of the high ground overlooking the Ganges, and on which formerly stood the fort attached to the village of Jáymau, zillah and tahsildári Cawnpore. The station is on a mud platform raised about 8 feet in height.
	Lat. 26° 25' 51"	...	...	...	...
	Long. 80° 27' 10"	...	...	...	...
ON GRAND TRUNK ROAD BETWEEN ALLAHABAD AND CAWNPORE.	Allahabad	...	...	118	398.04	Plinth of (broken) milestones.
	Dehli	...	...	270	408.77	
	Allahabad	...	...	117	408.77	Top of milestones.
	Dehli	...	...	271	408.78	
	Allahabad	...	...	118	408.78	Plinth of and (from east end) of five old paká posts on north side of Grand Trunk Road, opposite to Maharájpur Far u.
	Dehli	...	...	272	408.78	
	Paká telegraph post	...	...	...	...

Names of stations.	Height in feet above mean sea level.		Remarks, and description of stations.
		Deducted by spirit levelling operations	
ON GRAND TRUNK ROAD BETWEEN ALLAHABAD AND CAWNPORE—(contd.)			
Great trigonometrical survey bench-mark, Mahārājpur.	Mile-stone.	400 40	Stone B.M. imbedded with top one foot below ground, four paces north-west of east corner boundary pillar of Parao, on south side of Grand Trunk Road.
Allahabad ...	115	402 14	Top of milestones.
Dehli ...	273		
Allahabad ...	114	405 18	Top of milestones.
Dehli ...	274		
Allahabad ...	113	403 00	Top of north parapet wall of bridge No XXXII on Grand Trunk Road, close by the 111th milestone.
Dehli ...	275		
Bridge No. XXXII ...	...	402 00	Top of north parapet wall of bridge No XXXII on Grand Trunk Road, close by the 111th milestone.
Allahabad ...	110	398 69	Top of milestone.
Dehli ...	278		
Road culvert ...	...	399 58	Top of north parapet wall of culvert No XXIV, Grand Trunk Road.
Allahabad ...	109	394 98	Top of milestones.
Dehli ...	279		
Allahabad ...	108	395 70	Top of milestones.
Dehli ...	280		
Allahabad ...	106	389 37	Top of milestones.
Dehli ...	282		
Allahabad ...	105	381 96	Top of milestones.
Dehli ...	283		
Allahabad ...	104	396 26	Top of milestones.
Dehli ...	284		
Allahabad ...	102	395 51	Top of milestones.
Dehli ...	286		

The district of Cawnpore is traversed by the following rivers and streams flowing from west to east :—The river Pánda, which, rising in the Farukhabad district, flows for a length of 58 miles (from entry to exit, exclusive of windings) through Cawnpore, and discharges into the Ganges at the junction of the Fatehpur and Cawnpore districts. The river Rind, which rises in the Aligarh district and flows for a length of 55 miles through Cawnpore into the Fatehpur district. The river Sengur, which rises in the Aligarh district and discharges into the Jumna near the town of Musá-nagar. The river Isas, which passes for but a small portion of its course through

the north of parganah Bilhaur and discharges into the Ganges at Mahdeva. The minor streams are the two rivers Non (the word Non seems to imply smallness, not saltness) : the one rising in the swamps of parganah Bilhaur and falling into the Ganges near Bithūr, after passing for a short distance through the lowlands called kachhār (the old bed of the Ganges), and the other draining parganah Akbarpur and passing through parganah Ghátampur into the Fatehpur district. Each river is fringed with a belt of land more or less cut up into ravines by erosion, according to the volume of the stream. Thus the ravines of the Pánda only commence to be of any importance in parganah Sárh-Salempur, and are there only undulating, and nowhere rugged or wild, whilst those of the Sengur rival the ravines which line the river Jumna, and are largely covered with scrub jungle of *babul*, *chenka*, and other forest trees, and are full of deer and nilgai, and near the Jumna itself leopards are not uncommon. Other still smaller streams which drain limited areas are the Dharía, Ratwáha, and Lilji nálas, which drain Derapur, the Laukhia in south Shiurájpur, the Paghaiya in Sárh-Salempur, and Chhoha, Chhariya, and Sujári in Rasúlabad.

Besides the rivers there are several natural reservoirs of water of the character of swamps and lakes in the district. The former are
 Lakes and jhils. . . found principally in the north part of parganah Rasúlabad, where they drain by two or three outlets into the river Rind, and the southern portion of parganah Shiurájpur, draining into the Laukhia nála. The principal lakes are that at Gogomau in parganah Akbarpur, which forms one of the heads of the south Non river; that at Rahnas, a land-locked basin in parganah Sárh-Salempur; and that at Jahángirabad in parganah Ghátampur, which drains into the adjacent river Non. A peculiar feature in parganah Sikandra is the long drainage line, known as jhíl Sonau, which stretches right across the parganah into parganah Bhognipur, where its channel deepens into a raviny watercourse. As its windings follow those of the Jumna, from which it is distant from two to three miles, it may be an ancient bed of that river, but no tradition exists to support this theory. Its bed is cultivated, sometimes richly, and it is edged for its whole length with high banks of poor sandy and gravelly soil, often nearly worthless.

There is no forest land; here and there tracts of waste land are covered
 Forest and jungle. . . with *dhák* (*Butea frondosa*); the largest compact areas being in parganah Bilhaur (near Harnu), parganah Akbarpur (near Búra), and parganah Derapur. But these are fast disappearing before the advance of cultivation.

The character of the soil varies much between the Ganges and the Jumna.

Soils. The district indeed is popularly divided into the Ganges and Jumna parganahs, but there is a considerable tract intermediate between the two clearly defined divisions thus summarily described, and the varying characteristics of the district are best shown by taking the several *dudbs* or inter-riverine tracts in order from north to south. The rivers above detailed give the following *dudbs*, which include the several parganahs of the district noted with them :—

(1) Isan-Ganges, parganah Bilhaur ; (2) Ganges-Pádu, parganahs Bilhaur, north Shiurájpur, north Jájmau, and north Sárh-Salempur ; (3) Pádu-Rind, parganahs north Rasúlábád, north Shiurájpur, south Jájmau, and south Sárh-Salempur ; (4) Rind-Sengur, parganahs Dera-Mangalpur and Akbarpur ; (5) Rind-Jumna, parganah Ghátampur ; and (6) Sengur-Jumna, parganahs Sikandra and Bhognipur.

Isan-Ganges. On the north of the Isan is a level loam tract. The Isan itself flows in a stratum of light sandy soil easily cut away by the action of water, and blown by the winds into undulating hillocks. A belt of land lining the river is annually submerged more or less, and is thereby fertilized ; irrigation too from the river is possible and common. The high lands near the Isan contain the only true sand (*bhúr*) in the district. The Ganges for the whole of its course and in every parganah is edged with a belt of hard soil cut into ravines by the drainage streams which reach the river. Owing to the constant erosion and denudation the finer particles of alumina have been carried away, and a red silicious soil remains. This tract in the settlement records is called the Ganges' cliff. The cliff varies in abruptness, fine bluffs stand out into the river at Durgapur (parganah Shiurájpur) and the old site of Jájmau : and the line of demarcation is in general very distinct between the red soil of the higher land and the low-lying alluvial tracts or islands (*kattri*) left by the river when its volume of water decreases.

The breadth of the alluvial plain through which the Ganges wanders is ten miles, and the river has in its constant changes of bed cut away most of the alluvial estates or *kattris* shown in the map of 1840, the most permanent being that of Domanpur in parganah Sárh-Salempur. Diluvion and alluvion are in constant progress, and under recent instructions a register of riparian estates, subject to such changes, and which is annually corrected, is maintained. The rule of the deep-stream for deciding disputes as to ownership being now abrogated, less difficulty will be experienced in future

in providing for the alterations in area, and consequent liability to revenue of estates so affected. Between Bithúr and old Cawnpore there is a tract of low-lying land made up of pure alluvial deposits, and evidently the remains of a former bed of the river Ganges. This tract is called *kachhár*, and its physical characteristics have necessitated special treatment in assessment. Descending from the Ganges cliff by scarcely perceptible gradations, we reach a strong loam (*dúmat*) tract which stretches the whole length of the district. This tract was and is the best irrigated and the most densely populated in the district, and possesses, in roads and markets, higher advantages than any other. Water is (or was before the construction of the canal) some twenty feet from the surface, and large bodies of the industrious class of *Kúrmis* avail themselves of and enhance the natural productiveness of the soil. The Grand Trunk Road connects it throughout with the large commercial city of Cawnpore, and now the canal has stimulated the growth and manufacture of indigo to such a degree that numerous factories, situated so as to command nearly the entire area, have been and are being built. Throughout this tract large *úsar* plains are interspersed, and it is often spoken of in the settlement records as the *úsar-dúmat* tract. That part of it which lies in the southern half of parganah Bilhaur is remarkable for "its large shallow swamps and broad drainage courses," which debouch into the north Non. This area was known in the old settlement reports as the *Jhábargáon* or "fen" villages.

As we approach the river Pándu the soil becomes lighter and more sandy.

Ganges-Iádu.

For the upper portion of the course of this river the soil has a grey tinge, which becomes a more pronounced red towards its mouth. The ravines are nowhere abrupt, but rather undulating, though, as usual, the fields interspersed in them contain much *kunkur*, and the soil is impoverished by erosion and denudation. The river itself is lined with a narrow belt of alluvial soil which is known by various local names, such as "*pairá*," "*kondar*," or "*tardá*." Leaving the valley of the Pándu we come into the great central loam tract which stretches the whole length of the district through parganahs Rasúlabad, Shiurájpur, Jájmau, and

Pándu-Bind.

Sárh. Generally speaking, the character of this loam is decidedly lighter than that of the loam north of the river Pándu, whilst the *dúmat* of Rasúlabad more closely approximates to that of the *Jhábargáon* of parganah Bilhaur, owing to the presence of large swamps

¹ A curious instance of sand cropping up in *dúmat* is noted by Mr. Evans in villages Furanpurwa and Bapauliya.

and rice lands. As you proceed down the Pándu-Rind *dubb* the soil gets lighter and lighter, till in the easternmost portion of parganah Sárh it resembles the red soil of which I shall presently speak.

In south Shiurájpur we have a system of swamps and rice tracts that drain into the stream called Laukhia, which discharges into the Pándu, and here water is at 20 to 25 feet from the surface. As far as parganah Jájman this *dubb* is partially irrigated from a canal distributary, and it was intended to take the Lower Ganges Canal down it, a project which is now in abeyance. This tract is fully, though not densely, populated, but it has not the advantage of the industrious Kúrmis. The Rind¹ (or Arind as it is sometimes called) is well known for its peculiarly meandering course; its local length is 107 miles, as compared with the direct line of 55 miles from its entry into the district to its exit. It flows through a stratum of distinctly red soil, which is found in an almost level plateau stretching inland from beyond the uneven ground skirting the river. In his report on parganah Rasúlabad, Mr. Eyan speaks of the richness of this plateau, and in parganah Akbarpur, Mr. Wright records that it is a fine sandy loam (one of the best soils we could have), with regular fields unmixed with *úsar*, in each of which a well can be dug, with water obtainable at 25 feet to 30 feet distance: the well lasting at least two to three years. The ravines increase in abruptness and wildness as the river flows eastwards, but the red soil plateau is thereby only more removed from the river: we find the soil as good in parganah Sárh, though irrigation is less frequent, owing to a rather greater distance to water. South of the Rind is a third *dubiat* tract, stretching through parganahs Dera-Mangalpur, Akbarpur, and Ghátampur, the character of the soil getting somewhat lighter as you go eastwards. Though Rind-Sengur.

considerable areas of waste land are scattered throughout this tract, they do not consist of so sterile a soil as that which characterizes the *úsar* of the Ganges-Pándu *dubb*. The *úsar* is less impregnated with salts, and there is more *dhák* jungle, which implies some degree of fitness in the soil for cultivation. Parganah Derápur is drained by the Lilji nála, and parganah Akbarpur by the river Non, of which the principal sources are the Narha and Gogomau lakes. The wells in this tract are generally plentiful and lasting. Their place has been taken in a large portion of parganahs Derapur and Akbarpur by the Etáya terminal of the Ganges Canal, and in Ghátampur by a recently constructed distributary of the same branch; whilst towards the east the character of the subsoil is so fatal to the stability of common (*kuchcha*) wells that their place is supplied by a comparatively cheap brick well.

¹ The name of this river has been fancifully derived from "Rind," a man of bad character and of crooked courses, such as those of this river.

The Sengur¹ has on either side a narrow plateau of red soil, but the ravines which edge this river are so steep and rugged that it is removed some distance from the river: the ravines contain but few fields of impoverished kunkury soil (except where a better soil has been formed by the deposit of the washings from above), and the bed is lined with a narrow strip of alluvial soil or *tardī*, which near the confluence with the Jumna, owing to the waters of the Sengur being dammed up by the greater volume of the Jumna stream, spreads into a wider and richer belt of alluvial deposit called *kachhār*. The Sengur before it reaches parganah Ghátampur takes a rather sudden turn to the south, and encloses between itself and the river Jumna, into which it flows, the parganahs of Sikandra and Bhagnipur. The soil of these parganahs is locally called *dūmat*; it is, however, very different from the *dūmat* of the more northern duābs; it contains much more sand, and being left almost entirely unirrigated, owing to the great depth to the spring-level (60 to 80 feet), it is, with rare exceptions, not worked up to that degree of fertility which we are accustomed to recognize by the word *dūmat*. Yet it is largely populated by the industrious Kūrmis, and will, when the proposed canal distributary puts it on a par with other parganahs as regards irrigation, and attracts population, as it undoubtedly will, be one of the most fertile tracts in the district.

The Jumna is fringed with a deep belt of abrupt ravines, sometimes extending two miles from the river bed. Outside these are the soils which resemble those of Bundelkhand, the *parwa*, *mār*, *kāḷār*, and *rākar*.² Irrigation is absolutely wanting, but, excepting *kābur*, most of the soils are fertile, though liable to be overrun by the *kāns* grass. The river Jumna is lined in places favourable for its deposit by a rich belt of alluvial soil. The portion of this land that lies above the ordinary water-line and is only rarely flooded is called *kachhār*; where backwaters push up into it, and being held up by the volume of the main stream, annually deposit a rich layer of mud (called *nauleva*), the term *kondar* is used; while the strip nearest the river is called *tardī*, and the culturable land in the bed of the river is known as *tīr*.

The conventional classification of soils is the one common in the Duāb: (1) *gauhān*, the lands immediately adjoining the village site, highly fertilized and cultivated; (2) *manjha*, or midlands; and (3) *barha*, the outlands. Each principal soil therefore may be divided into the above classes, again subdivided into irrigated or unirrigated. Hence the classification of soils for settlement purposes has been rather minute, but for the present purpose the following summary will suffice:—

¹ The name of this river is said to be derived from the tribe of Sengar Thākurs settled on it in the Etāwa district (Gazetteer, IV., 226). In Cawnpore the penultimate letter is *u*, not *a*.

² Gazetteer, I., 67, 144.

Name of parganah.	IRRIGATED.				UNIRRIGATED.				Total cultivated area.
	Ganjam.	Manjha.	Barha.	Total.	Ganjam.	Manjha.	Barha.	Total.	
Bilhaur ... { Bāngar ...	10,996	15,895	20,842	47,732	793	2,455	19,156	22,405	67,135
... { Kattī ...							80	80	80
Shiarspur ... { Bāngar ...	11,432	21,598	39,160	72,510	308	1,559	19,159	21,326	83,836
... { Kattī kachhār ...	5	158	14	175			543	543	728
Jājmau ... { Bāngar ...	8,943	20,495	25,805	54,633	865	1,561	27,143	29,009	83,642
... { Kattī ...					873		8,803	7,375	7,375
Rasulabad ...	6,719	23,111	13,697	43,527	336	4,358	21,076	25,665	71,193
Akbarpur ...	9,098	16,094	27,970	53,162	790	1,281	17,900	19,971	85,853
Sārī-Salempur { Bāngar ...	9,176	26,968	24,548	59,692	196	980	17,484	18,660	79,352
... { Kattī ...							1,392	1,392	1,392
Derapur ...	5,473	12,143	17,095	34,711	425	2,900	18,394	19,734	63,445
Mukandra ...	1,024	726	81	2,101	4,616	14,327	48,269	67,212	69,313
Bhogni ...	1,063	1,909	4,805	7,777	5,597	16,475	80,814	1,04,985	112,322
Ghātampur ...	4,704	8,650	30,045	43,399	2,706	8,488	91,540	1,02,743	146,142
Total ...	69,957	146,915	214,032	430,904	16,545	56,860	366,529	439,738	870,642

There are altogether forty-two ferries in the district, twenty-nine of which are across rivulets, and are only worked for four or five months in the year. There are thirteen on the Ganges, one on the Jumna, four on the Isan, nine on the Pāndu, six on the Rind, six on the Sengur, and three on the Non. The receipts during the year 1876-77 from the lease of tolls amounted to Rs. 21,526, which was credited to the local road and ferry fund administered by the vice-president of the local funds committee and the magistrate of the district :—

List of ferries in the district of Cawnpore.

Name of parganah.	Name of village near the ferry.	Name of river.	Name of parganah.	Name of village near the ferry.	Name of river.
Chaurāspur ...	Bandi Mōta ...	Ganges ...	Bilhaur ...	Akbarpur-Sengh,	Ganges.
Ditto ...	Sarayan Rādhan,	Do. ...	Do. ...	Nānāman ...	Do.
Ditto ...	Bikru Ghāt ...	Pāndu ...	Do. ...	Near Bilhaur ...	Isan.
Ditto ...	Kāshipur ...	Rind ...	Do. ...	Pachmahla do.,	Do.
Sārī-Salempur	Dhonri ...	Ganges ...	Do. ...	Sarai Ghāt ...	Do.
Ditto ...	Najafgarh ...	Do. ...	Do. ...	Kakrā Purwa of	Pāndu.
Ditto ...	Sachell ...	Pāndu ...		Maiju Shamapur.	
Ditto ...	Birsingpur ...	Rind ...	Do. ...	Baranda ...	Isan.
Ditto ...	Gonālpur ...	Do. ...	Do. ...	Kursi ...	Pāndu.
Ditto ...	Akbarpur Baroi,	Do. ...	Do. ...	Kakwan ...	Do.
Jājmau ...	Raotāpur Bākar-	Ganges ...	Bhogni, ...	Khartala ...	Jumna.
	ganj				
Ditto ...	Bithūr Patkāpur,	Do. ...	Do. ...	Māwan ...	Sengur.
Ditto ...	Jājmau ...	Do. ...	Do. ...	Chaparghata ...	Do.
Ditto ...	Permit Ghāt ...	Do. ...	Akbarpur,	Mandauli ...	Rind.
Ditto ...	Kheorā ...	Do. ...	Do. ...	Birpur Nikatia ...	Do.
Ditto ...	Tikrā ...	Pāndu ...	Do. ...	Kumhī, Bihari	Sengur.
				Ghāt.	
Ditto ...	Piporī ...	Do. ...	Derapur ...	Derapur ...	Do.
Ditto ...	Pipargawan ...	Do. ...	Do. ...	Hawāspur ...	Do.
Ditto ...	Fatehpur ...	Do. ...	Do. ...	Indruk ...	Do.
Bilhaur ...	Sanjeli Bādshāhpur,	Ganges ...	Ghātampur,	Nandā ...	Non.
Ditto ...	Ankī ...	Do. ...	Do. ...	Gauri ...	Do.

The smaller rivers are dry, except in the rains, or when surplus canal water is discharged into them. In the rains they are crossed by rude boats or rafts made of a dozen inverted *gharras* bearing a platform of hurdle-work. The Ganges was formerly crossed by a bridge of pontoons at Cawnpore, which was maintained all the year round, but was removed in 1875 to Kálpi, on the completion of the Oudh and Rohilkhand Railway bridge, and has taken the place of a bridge of boats there. The Jumna is crossed at Hamirpur by a bridge of boats, which is broken up during the monsoon and its place supplied by ferries. Both the Ganges and the Jumna annually affect the villages on their banks by alluvion and diluvion, the former river in the greater degree, but the deposits of the latter are generally the more permanent, being formed into tracts (called *kachhár*) only accessible to and affected by high floods. The Ganges and Jumna are in the rains navigable in all parts for boats of 100 maunds burthen and upwards, but in the dry season the frequent shallows prevent navigation, except for boats of smaller burthen.

There are two branches of the Ganges Canal running through the district. The first, known as the Cawnpore branch, enters the district at Aima, in parganah Bilhaur, and flows down the Pándu-Ganges *duáb* for 47 miles 3,400 feet, discharging into the Ganges at Cawnpore through a series of locks which maintain communication for boats with the navigation of the Ganges. It is spanned by 29 bridges at a distance of about three miles from each other, except in Cawnpore city, where they are at more frequent intervals. Its velocity varies from three to four feet per second, and its depth from $7\frac{1}{2}$ feet at its entry to 4 feet at its discharge. It supplies numerous *rájbahs* or subsidiary irrigation channels, and commands nearly the entire *Duáb*, its water being carried on beyond the point of discharge by the Halwa-Khandwa distributary into parganah Súr-h-Salompur. Another distributary connected with, but leaving this branch of the Ganges Canal much higher up, and called the Kanswa *rájba*, penetrates the Pándu-Rind *duáb* as far as Kaindha, where its surplus waters discharge into a ravine. The stream is generally six feet deep when the canal is full; at Aima its breadth is 46 feet, and at Cawnpore about 32 feet. In 1872-73, 65,261 acres were irrigated, being distributed as follows among different kinds of crops:—

Acres.		Acres.	
Gardens and orchards,	919	Pulses	...
Sugarcane	5,319	Cotton	...
Cereals	38,956	Indigo	...
		Poppy	...
		Tobacco	...
		Miscellaneous	...
			859
			29
			666

The water-rent paid in the same year was Rs. 1,29,901. The total gross income of the canal was Rs. 1,48,998. The expenditure on original works of

improvement was Rs. 42,114, and on repairs Rs. 14,990. The establishment employed on the canal cost Rs. 27,966.

In 1876-77 the total irrigation was increased to 88,856 acres, as follows:—

	Acres.		Acres.		Acres.
Gardens and orchards ...	1,365	Pulses ...	1,177	Poppy ...	1,272
Sugarcane ...	3,741	Cotton ...	6	Tobacco ...	16
Cereals ...	87,996	Indigo ...	22,449	Miscellaneous ...	934

The water-rate paid was Rs. 1,72,830, and patwāris received Rs. 3,231-9-10 as fees for attendance. The distributaries of this branch were originally so badly aligned as to interfere in almost every possible way with the natural drainage of the country. Immense mischief has been the result, but schemes for remodelling the distributaries in accordance with better principles have been submitted which embrace nearly the entire system of irrigation both on the right and left banks of the main canal. None, however, have as yet reached completion, though the principal ones (the "Nadiya" and the "right bank") are in course of progress.

The second or Etāwa branch enters the district at Rānipur, pargana Derapur, and after running south-east, and then south, for a length of 44 miles, reaches the Jumna at Fatchabad Garānthā in pargana Ghātampur. It has a velocity of three feet per second and a depth of five feet, and is used only for irrigation. It supplies four rūjbahas or distributary channels, and is spanned by sixteen bridges. There are no locks or weirs on it, but it was originally intended to communicate for purposes of navigation with the Jumna, and a large store of material was collected for the construction of locks similar to those at Cawnpore; the last two miles, however, were never even dug, and the surplus water, already at a very low level, is discharged into a ravine at Baksara. The width of the stream is from twenty to twenty-five feet, and its depth from five to six feet during a full supply, in the upper portion, but the water falls to an insignificant level below Akbarpur. In 1872-73, 21,219 acres were irrigated by this branch, consisting of:—

	Acres.		Acres.		Acres.
Wheat ...	7,193	Gram ...	633	Poppy ...	514
Barley ...	7,394	Indigo ...	2,231	Gardens and orchards ...	293
Rice ...	262	Sugarcane ...	1,921	Miscellaneous ...	778

In the same year the water-rent paid to the canal department was Rs. 47,470, and the total gross income of the canal was Rs. 49,759. There was expended on repairs and improvements Rs. 31,062, and on establishment Rs. 10,673. In 1876-77 the irrigated area from this branch had increased to 55,437 acres, bearing the following crops:—

	Acres.		Acres.		Acres.
Cereals ...	40,444	Pulses ...	1,446	Poppy ...	708
Cotton ...	182	Indigo ...	9,475	Gardens ...	421
Tobacco ...	2	Sugarcane ...	2,090	Miscellaneous ...	720

The water-rate collected amounted to Rs. 1,17,319, and patwáris received fees amounting to Rs. 2,313 for their attendance. The two principal distributaries, the Roona and Akbarpur, are taking water to tracts hitherto absolutely dry, and are aligned on the true water-shed, and are, it may be said, invaluable. A large distributary, the Ghátampur, connected with the general scheme of the Lower Ganges Canal, has recently been taken off at Bannajákha, and is intended to supersede the badly aligned channel of the Tigan, and to carry water, not only to the drier tracts of parganah Ghátampur, but also to parganah Kora in the Fatehpur district.

The navigation on the Ganges Canal arriving at and departing from Cawnpore during 1872-73 was as follows in maunds, at Canal navigation. 28 maunds to the ton :—

	Up.	Down		Up.	Down.		Up.
Grains ...	10,557	2,27,574	Building materials ...	1,688	2,100	Squared poles, 9'0 by tale.	
Cotton ...	24	79,656	Miscellaneous goods ...	10,857	21,560	Logs ..	89 "
Oilseeds...	230	3,759	Firewood ...	1,34,200		Miscellaneous timber ...	1,656 "
Salt ...	1,358	38,888	Bamboos • 400 by tale			Live stock ...	65 down.
Metals ...	22,735	613	Poles 90 "				
	Up	Down	...	...	47,489 maunds	3,205 by tale.	
			...	...	5,07,850	65 "	

There is at Cawnpore a considerable water-power in the Ganges Canal which is used to work two flour-mills by means of turbines. The Lower Ganges Canal was intended to pass through the entire length of the district down the Pándu-Rind *duáb*, taking the place of the existing Kansa. This tract, however, is sufficiently irrigated from kuchcha wells, water being at an average distance of only twenty-five feet from the surface, and the scheme is, temporarily at least, abandoned. Other portions of the scheme, the Ghátampur already noted, and the channel designed for the Sengur-Jumna *duáb*, a tract entirely unirrigated, and with water at a depth of sixty to eighty feet from the surface, will be of incalculable benefit.

The means of communication in the Cawnpore district are exceptionally good, and there are peculiar advantages for export and import. Communications.

The East Indian Railway runs through the district from the south-east, following a course parallel to the Ganges till it reaches Cawnpore, when it turns in a more direct westerly direction and crosses both branches of the canal and the Pándu and Rind rivers. The stations are distant from Cawnpore city as follows :—

Barsani	...	13 miles E.	Bárá	...	27 miles W.
Bhápur	...	14 " W.	Jhinjhak	...	39 " W.

The Oudh and Rohilkhand Railway communicates with the East Indian Railway station, but has a station of its own nearer the city. It crosses the Ganges by a fine bridge, on either side of which the trains stop for line-clear messages and to take up passengers. The length of the bridge is 2,830 feet, comprising twenty-five spans of 110 feet each, and two spans of 40 feet each. The average depth of the foundation wells below low-water mark is sixty feet. The bridge was commenced just before the monsoons of 1869, but completion was delayed some two or three years in consequence of eight wells having fallen over during the rains of 1870, after which the piers were newly designed, and operations again commenced in 1871 on new foundations. The approximate cost of the whole work from the commencement to the time it was opened for traffic, including superintendence, protection works, approaches (Oudh and Cawnpore), and all works connected therewith, was about 20 lakhs. The bridge is provided with an upper and lower roadway, and all foot-passengers, horses, and cattle pass through the lower or sub-way. Trains and all special traffic, such as loaded native cotton carts, camels, elephants, and everything that cannot pass through the sub-way, pass along the upper way. Good metalled roads are provided on each side of the river as approaches to the upper and lower roads.

• The roads of the district may be divided into three classes : first, those raised and metalled; secondly, those raised but not metalled; and lastly, country cart-tracts. In the first class are five roads :—

(1) The Allahabad and Dehli road, also called the Grand Trunk Road.

Metalled roads. • It runs in this district from a point one mile west of Ankin to Purwa Mír on the eastern border for a distance of 64 miles 7 furlongs. (2) A road connecting Cawnpore with Kálpi, metalled throughout its entire length of 48 miles, and bridged at the Sengur-Pándu and Rind rivers. (3) A metalled road bridged over the Non, Pándu, and Rind rivers runs to Hamírpur, a distance of 35 miles, and connects Bundelkhand with the railway. (4) Another road runs from Cawnpore to Bithúr, 13 miles, but has been much injured by the encroachments of the river Ganges, being cut away for two miles between Kheora and Gangápur. (5) A metalled road also connects Mahárájpur on the Grand Trunk Road with Bīposi Najafgarh, a distance of four miles, but is of no importance since the decline of the indigo industry formerly centred there, and has now been reduced to the second class.

Of the second class roads, the principal is the old Mughal Road (Sarak Bádsáhi) from Allahabad to Agra. It enters the district to the south of Kuán Khera in parganah Ghátampur, and

Unmetalled roads.

running parallel to the Jumna through parganahs Ghátampur, Bhognipur, and Sikandra, by the towns of those names and Mysánagar, passes out of the district into parganah Auraiya in the Etáwa district near Khwája Phul. In many places, are still to be seen the ruins of Kōś Minárs, which served the double purpose of lighthouses and milestones. The road crosses the Sengur near its confluence with the Jumna at Chaparghata by a fine bridge commanded by a fort, both built in the time of the Emperor Aurangzeb. It is now to be made a first-class road. Other roads of this class are railway feeders, and run, one from Shiurájpur on the Grand Trunk Road through Shiúli to Rúra railway station; another from Bilhaur through Kakwan on the canal and Rasúlabad to the Jhínjhak railway station, and thence through Mangalpur and Sikandra to the Jumna in the direction of Jalaun, a total distance of 50 miles; a third connects Cawnpore directly with Narwal, and again with Sárh and Ghátampur; a fourth runs from Bárá on the Kálpi road to Akbarpur, Derapur, and Mangalpur, a branch connecting Derapur *viâ* Rasulán with Sikandra, 26 miles; a fifth runs from Bithúrón the Ganges across the district in a north-west direction *viâ* Chaubepur, 34 miles. These roads are partially protected by culverts against the action of natural drainage, and are annually repaired after the rains, so far as funds will allow. They are under the charge of the district engineer, and the annual cost of maintenance is for the first class Rs. 333 per mile, and for the second class about Rs. 20 per mile.

The chief bridges in the district are, a bridge over the river Rind at Raipur, on the Kálpi road, consisting of one span of 100 feet in width, constructed in iron of "Warren's girders."

Bridges.

A bridge at Bhaunti over the Pándu river, of brick, containing three arches of 42 feet span each, also on the Kálpi road. A bridge at Máwar over the Sengur river, of brick, containing four arches of 40 feet span, also on the Kálpi road. A bridge at Bangawan, on the Hamárpur road, of three arches, two of 30 feet and one of 40 feet span, in brick. A bridge on the same road at Sambhui over the Rind river, containing three spans of 40 feet each, in brick. On the Grand Trunk Road over the small stream called the Non is a bridge of three arches, two of 13 feet and one of 30 feet span, in brick. A bridge on the same road over the Isan nadi, containing three arches of 40 feet span each, in brick, has recently been carried away. There are six other bridges of less importance having one or two spans each of 30 feet and under.

The encamping grounds on the Grand Trunk Road are:—Mahárájpur in parganah Sárh-Salempur, Cawnpore, Kaliánpur in parganah Jámá, Chaubepur, in parganah Shiurájpur, Párá in parganah Bilhaur, and Arwal in parganah Bilhaur; those on the Kálpi road are

Encamping grounds.

Sachendi in parganah Jájman, Bára in parganah Akbarpur, and Dig and Bhognipur in parganah Bhognipur; and those on the Hamírpur road are Bidhnu in parganah Jájman, and Ghátampur in parganah Ghátampur.

The largest towns in the district are given below, with their distance from Cawnpore as the crow flies, and their population :—

Names of towns.	Distance from Cawnpore in miles.	Population.	Names of towns.	Distance from Cawnpore in miles.	Population.
Akbarpur ...	26	4,911	Mahárájpur ...	13	2,265
Amrodha ...	42	2,983	Majhawan ...	12	2,620
Analatganj ...	38	3,497	Makanpur ...	40	2,802
Banipára Maháráj ...	30	2,132	Malon ...	15	2,137
Bára ...	28	2,879	Mangalpur ...	40	2,177
Barel Garha ...	18	2,701	Maswanpur ...	6	3,477
Bhognipur ...	41	1,113	Múánagar ...	34	2,406
Bilhaur ...	34	5,559	Narwal ...	18	2,514
Binaur ...	14	2,037	Pandri ...	18	2,523
Bipon Najasgarh ...	16	2,459	Panki Gangáganj ...	8	2,418
Bithúr ...	12	7,768	Patará ...	20	3,241
Old Cawnpore ...	4	2,582	Pipargawan ...	9	2,376
Cawnpore City only	...	80,860	Pokhran ...	38	2,300
Cantonment ...	...	33,840	Purá ...	28	2,002
Chaubepur ...	16	2,366	Rájpur ...	43	1,979
Derapur ...	35	2,149	Rasdhán ...	42	3,367
Dundwa Jamoli ...	28	2,674	Rasúlabad ...	40	4,931
Gajner ...	24	3,530	Ratanpur ...	36	3,126
Ghátampur ...	26	3,350	Rawatpur ...	5	3,699
Ghausganj ...	34	2,939	Rúra ...	28	1,811
Juhi, ...	14	4,063	Sachendi ...	13	4,802
Jeora ...	4	3,677	Sargian Buzurg ...	30	2,099
Kákádeo ...	5	2,069	Sarh ...	15	1,983
Kakwan ...	32	2,081	Shukrpur Prés ...	27	2,576
Kashipur ...	26	4,662	Shuhi ...	22	4,179
Kathára ...	14	3,571	Sikandra ...	45	2,952
Khamela ...	36	2,710	Singol ...	15	3,740
Kurián ...	28	3,037	Sisáman, suburb of Cawnpore	2	2,915
Lálpur ...	29	2,168	Targáon ...	19	2,034
Mandauli ...	23	2,445	Tilsahri ...	11	2,760

The climate of Cawnpore is characterised by extreme heat and dryness from

Climate.

March to June, during which period the wind almost invariably comes from the west, and violent dust-storms and occasionally hail-storms occur. The thermometer in the shade stands at an average height of 90°. About the 15th of June the rainy season commences, and the east wind brings up heavy clouds which pour intermittent showers over the district till September. Even at this season during any break in the rains the heat of the sun is most oppressive. From the 15th of October till the end of December the weather becomes gradually cooler till it resembles the climate of England in May, and the thermometer at night falls to below freezing point. From January

to March it again gradually becomes hotter. The most unhealthy time of the year is at the end of the rains, when the moisture is being rapidly absorbed by the still powerful rays of the sun. At this season the mortality from fever, dysentery, and diarrhoea is very great.

The district is not liable to excessive floods, except when the Rámanga and other smaller streams of Rohilkhand, when in flood, discharge their waters into the Ganges. The latter river then occasionally rises rapidly as the surplus water of this drainage system falls into it at different points about 90 miles above Cawnpore. Its effect then is to dam up the waters of the Non which discharge below Bithúr, and so to flood and saturate lands already full of moisture. The low-lying tract of country between Nawábganj and Bithúr, called the kachhár, and probably an old bed of the Ganges, has recently suffered much in this way; large areas have been rendered unculturable and have been abandoned, and a quinquennial settlement has been resorted to in the hope of encouraging its reclamation. The ordinary flood level is from 10 to 11 feet above the height of the river in the hot season. In the month of September, 1874, the Ganges rose to 14 feet 4 inches above low-water level, its highest recorded rise, and was running from 7 to 8½ miles an hour for several days. At the end of September, 1873, the Ganges rose to 12 feet 2 inches above low-water level, and was running for some hours at a rate of 6·36 miles per hour, but the flood in 1872 is said to have been somewhat higher than this. The district on the whole is well drained by numerous small streams, such as the Chhoha and Laukhia already mentioned, the Liljí, and Ratwáha in parganah Derapur, and the Paghaiya in Sárh-Salempur; the catch-basins of these streams are of limited area, but those of the two small rivers Non are of greater extent.

The following table gives the total rainfall at the principal stations of the district for the years 1844-45 to 1849-50 from returns existing among the records of the Board of Revenue:—

Names of stations.	1844-45.	1845-46.	1846-47.	1847-48.	1848-49.	1849-50.	Average.
Cawnpore ...	25·15	27·94	32·51	31·29	32·41	30·80	30·02
Akbarpur ...	24·04	20·02	20·52	28·45	16·81	24·19	22·44
Bhognipur ...	16·51	27·04	18·99	22·72	15·97	20·66	20·32
Bilbaur ...	24·39	18·29	27·36	28·09	17·81	31·30	24·44
Derapur ...	21·54	20·10	21·71	24·57	17·64	24·17	23·29
Ghátampur ...	21·60	22·72	17·28	22·98	17·98	21·49	20·67
Rasálabad ...	22·67	17·45	17·80	28·04	26·68	23·56	21·73
Sárh-Salempur ...	24·	24·16	27·09	25·73	17·62	22·15	23·49
Shurájpur ...	20·03	29·55	21·91	19·02	21·11	24·09	24·24
Sikandra ...	22·23	24·60	26·02	25·46	19·70	29·21	24·74
Sachendi ...	...	...	...	...	16·30	21·43	16·20

Again the average total rainfall for the ten years 1860-61. to 1870-71 was as follows :—

Period.	1860-61.	1861-62.	1862-63.	1863-64.	1864-65.	1865-66.	1866-67.	1867-68.	1868-69.	1869-70.	1870-71.
1st June to 30th September.	9.7	38.8	31.1	31.3	18.3	26.6	29.3	43.6	15.0	24.6	38.3
1st October to 31st January	0.5	.4	.9	3.6	.3	.5	1.1	4.5	.4	14.9	3.4
1st February to 31st May.	1.0	.5	.1	.8	3.4	.7	1.7	.6	1.0	1.6	3.9
	11.2	39.2	32.1	35.7	22.0	27.8	32.1	48.7	16.4	41.1	45.6

The following table gives similar information for succeeding years :—

Period.	1871-72.	1872-73.	1873-74.	1874-75.	1875-76.	1876-77.
1st June to 30th September	29.4	39.8	29.7	27.0	27.6	20.6
1st October to 31st January	2.3	Nil	Nil	Nil	0.5	1.5
1st February to 31st May	0.3	0.1	0.1	0.7	2.7	3.1
	32.0	39.9	29.8	27.7	30.8	25.2

PART II.

PRODUCTIONS OF THE DISTRICT.

A list of the animals common to the Duab districts has been given in the introduction to the fourth volume, and to this the reader is referred for details. *Nilgai* still wander through the few patches of *dhak* jungle which remain; leopards are found near the confluence of the Sengur and the Jumna, ravin-deer along the Jumna, and black buck in small and decreasing numbers throughout the district. Grey partridge, quail, and hares are not uncommon, and a few black partridge are occasionally found near the Isan river. Bustard are sometimes seen near Ghátampur, and geese, duck, teal, and other aquatic birds are common in all the jhils and lakes during the cold weather. Children are now and then carried away by wolves, and deaths from snakebites are very common. Rewards varying from two to three rupees are given for the destruction of wolves according to age and sex, and four to eight annas each for the destruction of venomous snakes. In 1871, 28 wolves and 355 snakes; in 1872, 224 wolves and 262 snakes; in 1873, 94 wolves and 575 snakes; and in 1876, 323 wolves and 5 leopards were destroyed and Rs. 200 were distributed in reward.

The breeds of cattle more commonly used for agricultural purposes are few in number, and not particularly good in quality. The Domestic cattle. *desi* or common country stock, bred from the ordinary cow and the bull (*sānr*) which the religious customs of the people allow to wander free through the country, is generally small in stature, and of a dull dun colour. It is not worth more than from ten to twelve rupees, and lasts but for from five to six years. The *Jamnait*, or breed from beyond the Jumna river, is somewhat superior, of medium stature, and usually of a dull red colour. Bullocks of this breed are worth from fifteen to eighteen rupees, and last as many years. The *Kenwariya* breed from the banks of the Ken river in Bundelkhand gives a strong hardy animal of a red colour with a white face, which fetches as high a price as thirty to thirty-five rupees. The *Paintiya* breed from the Gāghra river are long-horned, rather wild, and fetch from twenty-five to thirty rupees each. The name is said to be derived from an old legend ascribing the origin of the breed to some thirty-five (*paintis*) villages along the Gāghra. The *Hariānth*, from the Hariāna country, is a slow breed, worth only from thirteen to fifteen rupees, and lasting only from ten to twelve years. The *Mewāt* is another breed sometimes met with, short-horned, large, and heavy in the hind quarters, but a good worker, and worth some twenty to twenty-five rupees. The *Bhadawari* from the Chambal ravines in the Agra district is a slow, poor, rough breed, worth from ten to fifteen rupees, and lasting but about five years. Some efforts have been made to improve the local breed by the importation of English stock, but they are unsuited to the country and the habits of the people, and require greater care and more food than the ordinary husbandman can afford. Horses are not bred to any extent in the district, and the sheep and goats are of the common varieties found in all the neighbouring districts. On the whole, Cawnpore depends in a great measure for the stock necessary for carrying on the work of agriculture on other districts where cattle are more abundant and the facilities for grazing and breeding are greater. The proportion of grazing ground to the entire culturable area in the district is very small and hardly sufficient for existing wants, nor can it be said that this area is likely to increase, for the tendency is in the opposite direction, to bring into cultivation every acre of land capable of yielding a crop. The increase of population, too, impels the people in the same direction, and unless human labour be substituted for that of cattle at the wells, the power of keeping cattle will be lost, or there must be some radical change in the system of agriculture, and more space must be devoted to purely fodder crops.

Fish are caught in nets and with a rod and line; neither of which require any remark, being of the same kind as are in ordinary use. The fishermen are by caste Kahárs, and are generally known as "Gudhias." The price of fish is ordinarily about one penny per lb., or six pice per ser. The canal authorities have leased the right of fishing in the tanks formed by their excavations, and which are filled with water in the monsoon, and landholders generally preserve the village ponds for the same purpose.

The system of agriculture is that practised throughout the Duáb, and already described in previous volumes.¹ The following statement shows the names in English and vernacular of the principal crops grown in this district, their average produce per acre, and season of sowing and reaping. Further local details are given in Mr. Wright's account of the agriculture of the district, published separately with the sanction of Government:—

Class	English name.	Native name.	Average produce per acre.	Time of sowing.	Time of reaping.	Remarks.	
Cereals, ..	Wheat ...	Gahun	12 to 16 maunds,	November,	March		
	Barley ...	Jau	10 "	Ditto,	Febr., March		
	Barley, grain.	Bejhar	10 "	Ditto,	Ditto		
	Barley, wheat.	Grojal	10 "	Ditto,	Ditto		
Pulses, ..	Peas ...	Mattar	4 "	Ditto,	Janv., Feby.	Generally doctastli.	
	Gram ...	Channa	10 "	Ditto,	Feby., March		
		Urd	4 "	June, July,	Decr., Novr.,		
		Mung	4 "	Ditto,	Ditto		
		Athar	4 "	Ditto,	March	Average produce depends greatly on principal crop with which these are grown as under crop.	
	Vetches ...	Moth	14 "	Ditto,	October		
Fibres ..	Hemp ...	San, Sanai	10	July, August,	January		
		Patsan	Round a field of cane	March, ...	Ditto		
	Cotton ...	Kapis (Mun)	12 maunds,	June, July.	November.		
Dyes ..	Indigo ...	Nil	100 mds plant	March ...	September		
			3 " seed				
			13 " dye				
	Safflower ...	Kusam	12 seers	With spring crops		Flowers used for dyo.	
	Weeping myrtles.	Hai Singhar, Al	Trees.			Roots ditto	
Oilseeds ...	Mustard ...	Sarson	1 maund,	With rabi		The average produce in these must be necessarily a matter of the greatest doubt.	
		Rai	1 "	Ditto			
		Lahi	1 "	Ditto			
		Duan	1 "	Ditto			
	Sesamum ...	Til	14 seers,	Ditto			
		Alsi	All with other crops	Ditto			
Millets ..	Linseed	Andi		With cotton and cane			
	Caster	Andi		June, July.	September	Always precedes a spring crop.	
	Maize	Makai	4 maunds			Two sorts, single seeded and double seeded.	
	Larger	Joar	8 "	July,	Octr., Novr.,		
	Smaller	Bafra	6 "	July, August,	October.		
Miscellaneous.	Cane	Paunda	Ra. 800	Feby., Mch.,	October, Decr.	Edible sugarcane, Same as "Chin" of central Duab. Is kept in field two years.	
		Sarokha	50 or 60 "	Ditto	Decr., Janv.,		
		Manga	50 or 60 "	Ditto	Ditto		
	Betel	Pan	50	April			
	Opium	Post	4 seers	Octr., Novr.,	March, April,		
	Tobacco	Tamaku	4 maunds	Augt., Mch.,	Feby., June	Deahi, Vilayati follows another crop, potatoes or maize.	

¹ See under the Eta and Saharpur districts in Volume IV.

Class.	English name.	Native name.	Average produce per acre.	Time of sowing.	Time of reaping.	Remarks.
Vegetables.	Potatoes ...	Alu ...	200 maunds ...	October ...	Jany., Feby.	
	Watermelon	Tartuza ...	Rs 80 ...	January ...	March.	
	Musk, do.,	Kalluda ...	40 ...	July ...	November.	
	Egg-plant ...	Kharbuza ...	10 ...	April, May...	May, June.	
		Baingan, Bhata	10 ...	July ...	Novr., March.	
		Karola	24 ...	February ...	May.	
		Bhindi	10 ...			
	Beans ...	Rosa, Lobia	10 ...	} With others		
		Chhayan	50 maunds ...		Feby., Meh.	August.
	Radishes	Muli	Rs. 20 ...		July ...	Jany., Feby
	Carrots ...	Gkjar	40 maunds ...	Do.	February.	

Pepper, turmeric, and fennel are grown in small quantities, but rice is the staple crop, and the following varieties are common: *saliya*, supposed to arrive at perfection in sixty days, is a dark rice, sown broadcast in August, and cut in the end of September or the beginning of October. *Seoulhi*, *sudarsana*, *naha*, and *sumnaga* are all transplanted rices, grown in seed-beds in July and August and transplanted in September, and cut in December or January. The following statement shows the area under each crop in each parganah, as ascertained at settlement, and distributed according to season:—

Name of parganah.		Area and percentage.	AUTUMN CROPS OR KHARIF.								Total Kharif.	
			Jodr.	Bajra.	Cotton.	Indigo.	Pulses or dal.	Indian-corn.	Small milks.	Rice.		Hemp.
Bilhaur	Bāngar	Area ...	9,354	4,513	3,775	6,144	801	5,601	70	4,530	162	35,162
		Percentage ...	13.8	6.7	5.6	1.0	1.2	8.0	0.1	6.7	0.2	52.0
		Area ...	16,743	797	6,095	9,912	1,801	6,118	120	4,283	122	48,597
		Percentage ...	17.7	0.8	7.1	10.5	1.9	6.6	0.2	4.5	0.1	49.3
Shimla-pur.	Kattri	Area ...	0	...	...	...	...	...	349	...	...	345
		Percentage ...	1.0	...	...	...	...	...	...	60.2	...	61.2
Jajman	...	Area ...	20,518	1,934	7,920	2,843	2,387	2,988	180	2,499	71	41,700
		Percentage ...	22.2	2.1	8.0	3.1	3.0	3.2	0.2	2.6	0.1	45.1
Rasulabad	...	Area ...	13,108	530	9,211	162	383	4,062	77	6,799	99	34,321
		Percentage ...	15.3	0.7	12.9	0.2	0.6	5.7	0.1	9.5	0.1	48.0
Akbarpur	...	Area ...	12,755	2,683	12,455	510	459	1,776	257	2,165	121	33,190
		Percentage ...	14.6	3.1	14.5	0.6	0.5	2.1	0.3	2.6	0.1	38.6
Sah-Sa-lampur.	Bāngar	Area ...	13,859	3,529	8,948	3,352	1,095	1,613	180	966	29	33,570
		Percentage ...	17.7	4.6	11.4	4.3	1.3	2.1	0.2	1.2	...	42.9
		Area ...	219	33	2	...	43	...	20	253	...	570
		Percentage ...	16.9	2.6	0.2	...	3.3	...	1.6	19.5	...	44.1
Derapur	...	Area ...	10,175	1,405	7,729	569	26	682	101	422	47	21,156
		Percentage ...	18.9	2.9	14.4	1.1	...	1.3	0.2	0.9	0.1	29.4
Sikandra	...	Area ...	13,791	4,940	10,470	17	110	429	428	1,098	14	31,590
		Percentage ...	19.9	7.1	15.2	...	0.2	0.6	0.5	1.6	0.29	46.3
Bhognipur	...	Area ...	20,541	9,390	15,631	390	109	185	1,136	1,415	207	49,053
		Percentage ...	18.3	8.4	13.9	0.2	0.1	0.2	1.0	1.3	0.3	43.7
Ghatampur	...	Area ...	31,990	9,241	19,129	514	302	441	1,598	3,064	303	64,294
		Percentage ...	21.4	5.7	13.1	0.2	0.1	0.2	0.7	3.0	0.2	43.9
Total	...	Area ...	162,409	37,994	101,963	24,038	9,096	24,036	3,640	27,735	1,440	391,438
		Percentage ...	16.6	4.3	11.6	2.7	0.2	2.6	0.4	3.2	0.2	44.9

Name of parganah.	Area and percentage.	SPRING CROPS OR RABI.							Total Rabi.
		Wheat.	Gojal.	Wheat and gram mixed.	Bejhar.	Gram.	Peas.	Masur.	
Bilhaur	Area .. Percentage,	7,462 11.0	1,808 2.7	161 0.2	26,921 39.8	607 0.9	317 0.5	35 0.1	37,311 55.2
Shuraj- pur.	Bangar ... Percentage,	10,121 10.7	2,037 2.3	615 0.7	40,582 42.8	686 0.7	2,517 2.6	1 ...	56,559 59.8
	Katiri ... Percentage,	34 .60	24 4.3	... ...	405 71.9	... ...	11 1.9	4 0.7	478 84.8
Jajmau	Area ... Percentage,	7,968 8.6	1,543 1.7	514 0.6	39,319 42.5	1,375 1.5	821 0.9	18 ...	51,556 55.8
Rasulabad	Area ... Percentage,	7,006 9.8	1,137 1.6	647 0.9	25,509 35.5	2,817 4.0	292 0.4	... ...	37,408 52.2
Akbarpur	Area ... Percentage,	6,398 7.4	1,291 1.5	398 0.5	39,861 46.5	4,466 5.2	149 0.2	4 ...	52,567 61.3
Ash- Salem- pur.	Bangar ... Percentage,	6,374 8.1	1,079 2.5	134 0.2	25,694 44.8	780 1.0	234 0.3	1 ...	41,596 56.9
	Katiri ... Percentage,	114 8.9	22 1.7	... ...	774 59.9	... ...	31 2.4	... ...	941 72.9
Derapur	Area ... Percentage,	2,912 5.4	829 1.6	909 1.7	20,503 38.2	5,008 9.3	156 0.3	16 ...	30,333 56.5
Sikandra	Area .. Percentage,	664 1.0	1,607 2.4	1,967 2.9	21,092 30.3	10,069 14.6	15 ...	74 0.1	35,488 51.3
Bhognipur	Area ... Percentage,	1,149 1.0	3,813 3.4	3,147 2.8	36,513 32.6	14,112 12.5	391 0.3	19 ...	59,144 52.6
Ghatampur	Area ... Percentage,	2,564 1.8	4,874 3.3	8,421 5.8	40,519 27.6	17,306 11.8	308 0.2	89 0.1	74,081 50.6
District	Area ... Percentage,	52,766 6.0	20,984 2.4	16,918 1.9	327,092 37.9	57,223 6.5	5,243 0.6	259 ...	4,80,483 54.9

Cawnpore has always had the reputation of being one of the most fertile districts in the Ganges-Jumna duab. Always thickly populated, and with a large proportion of the industrious classes of cultivators (Káchhis, Kúrmis, and Lodhás); having ample facilities for irrigation over at least two-thirds of the area; with free communication in every direction, there has been little room left for increase of cultivation and enhanced prosperity since the time this portion of the Oudh territory passed under British rule. Some advance has undoubtedly been made during the last forty years and since the district suffered from the fearful ravages of the famine of 1837-38. The only statistics by which we can compare the present condition of the district with that of forty years ago are those compiled after the devastations caused by droughts, the effect of which will be noticed hereafter; and even those are misleading, in so far as they are based on a supposed recuperative power which a few years' experience showed the district did not possess. Thus we find only 3·2 of the *bángar* area recorded in 1840 as fallow, whereas we know that Mr. Rose included in his cultivated area land that he considered would be again rapidly brought under cultivation. At the present time we have 2·5 of the total area recorded as "abandoned" or fallow, whilst a further 2 per cent. is recorded as *báhán*, i.e., ploughed but not sown. Similarly we find that the present cultivated area is only 79 per cent. of the recorded culturable area, whereas in 1840 it was recorded as 83 per cent. But the actual cultivated area has increased from 780,928 acres to 864,574 acres, i.e., by 83,646 acres; or 16 per cent., though relatively to the total area of both periods only by 4·7 per cent. The proportion of increase has naturally varied much in each parganah. It has increased most in Bhognipur, and next in Sikandra and Ghátampur, a result which was to be expected in comparatively backward and thinly populated parganahs with a large area of culturable land available. Part of the increase, however, is due to the record as cultivated of land in the ravines which is brought under the plough for a year or two and sown with inferior crops, and then deserted for similar land elsewhere.

The culturable land left for the plough consists of land under groves, isolated patches of dhák jungle, and the poor stony land in ravines noted above. According to the settlement returns there is more land available in the northern parganahs than in the southern, except in Derapur, where there are the largest tracts of jungle. At the same time the cultivation in the southern parganahs is broader and lighter, as is natural in dry tracts; and the introduction of canal irrigation would enable

the land to bear the pressure of an increased population, without the remaining margin of culturable area (poor as it is) being much encroached upon.

The district of Cawnpore may be described therefore as one of great fertility; even in the southern parganahs the absence of irrigation is compensated for by the presence of a large body of excellent cultivators, who by constant labour compel the soil (in favourable seasons) to yield little less than the more fortunate tracts along the Ganges. Here indeed the introduction of canal irrigation can hardly be considered an unmixed benefit. To give water to a tract already sufficiently irrigated has had the result of encouraging waste, over-cropping, and general deterioration. The northern parganahs have in fact been the *corpus vile* on which all experiments have been made. The destructive effects of badly aligned channels have taught the canal officers the true system of distributaries; the impoverishment of the soil by lavish use of water and over-cropping has, I believe, taught the cultivator some wisdom in the use of canal water such as he ever had in the use of his well water.

The character of the agriculture of each parganah is shown clearly by the proportion of the autumn to the spring harvest and the class of crops generally grown. Thus we have in the Ganges parganahs a proportion of 55 to 61 per cent. of rabi crops, with 15 to 52 per cent. of kharif crops, the excess representing double-cropping, which is most frequent in Bilhaur and Shiurajpur. In the Jumna parganahs we have never more than 52 per cent. of rabi crops, coupled with the largest proportion of "báhan" or fallow. In the northern parganahs *jaír* and wheat are grown in large proportions; in the southern we have barely two per cent. of the area under wheat and a large area under *bijra*. Rice is chiefly grown in Bilhaur, Rasulabad, and the southern portion of Shiurajpur, whilst north Shiurajpur is covered with indigo, small native factories studding the entire area north of the Pandu. The statistics of Mr. Montgomery are such that a fair comparison between the crops grown now and then cannot be instituted. It would appear *prima facie* that the introduction of canal irrigation must have greatly stimulated the growth of wheat, indigo, and cane, but the result of a comparison between the statistics given by Mr. Montgomery and those of the settlement papers is far from confirming that idea: the area under wheat and cane is proportionately less, and that under indigo has not increased. Mr. Montgomery's statistics, however, are for the year after the great famine, and the amount of cultivation was less he supposed by twenty per cent. than at the time he wrote (1845 A.D.) We may also infer that in the years 1837-38 the better crops were grown in a

larger proportion than the inferior crops, as the poorer soils had been thrown out of cultivation. On the other hand, the settlement returns as to the area under indigo are defective; as this crop is off the ground before the measuring parties take the field, its place being taken by a crop of bijhra or peas, much would escape notice and record. Similarly the whole record of double-cropped land is liable to error. With the exception of the stimulus given to double-cropping, no permanent effect has been produced on the agriculture of the district since 1840. The temporary increase in the cultivation of cotton, due to the American civil war, has given way to the normal distribution of crops: the supply of manure is no larger than it was; indeed, so far as the use of canal water obviates the necessity of keeping well-cattle, and the extension of cultivation limits the available grazing land, it has diminished. The only direction in which an improvement, more or less permanent, in the condition of the agricultural classes has been effected has been in the enhanced prices they obtain for their produce.

The sources of irrigation are wells, the Ganges canal, and in a less degree ponds, lakes, and rivers. The following statement shows the varying proportions in which these are available in the several tracts before described :-

Name of tract	Name of parganah.	Well	Canal	Other sources.	Total.
Isan ...	Bilhaur ...	13 8	2 9	8 4	25 1
Ganges chif	Bilhaur ...	18 7	14 3	1 5	34 5
	Shiurájpur ...	9 6	9 9	2 9	22 4
	Jáymau ..	19 3	21 1	1 7	42 1
	Sárh-Salempur ...	34 3	...	3 4	37 7
	Total ...	19 1	11 5	2 5	33 1
Ganges-Pándú duáb,	Bilhaur ...	24 4	37 1	13 3	74 8
	Shiurájpur ...	10 8	56 4	1 4	68 6
	Do, central ...	7 8	67 7	5 8	81 3
	Jáymau, dūmat ...	23 5	25 6	7 1	57 5
	Do., red soil ...	38 6	18 9	1 2	58 7
	Sárh-Salempur ...	44 1	16 3	8 2	68 6
	Total ...	13 6	39 3	7 2	70 3

Name of tract.	Name of parganah.	Well.	Canal.	Other sources.	Total.
Pádu-Rind dúáb ...	Shiurájpur, dúmat ...	26.3	25.2	13.8	65.3
	Do., red soil ...	43.9	25.9	2.8	72.6
	Jájpau, dúmat ...	46.8	4.8	4.8	56.4
	Do., red soil ...	48.5	1.0	2.9	52.4
	Rasúlabad, dúmat ...	51.9	12.4	18.8	78.1
	Sárh-Salempur ...	39.6	2.1	3.9	45.6
	Total ...	45.5	9.7	7.4	62.6
Rind ...	Rasúlabad ...	41.6	...	3.1	44.7
	Akbarpur ...	49.4	2.4	1.8	53.6
	Ghatampur ...	33.8	21.2	2.3	57.3
	Total ...	45.5	2.6	2.3	50.4
Rind-Sengur dúáb ...	Derapur ...	8.4	49.5	1.3	59.2
	Akbarpur ...	18.8	20.8	6.5	45.6
	Ghatampur ...	16.4	22.7	5.1	44.2
	Total ...	14.8	29.2	4.6	48.6
Sengur ...	Derapur, Sengur (canal) ...	2.1	39.9	5.1	47.1
	Do., Sengur ...	3.2	1.5	1.3	6.0
	Sikandra ...	2.9	...	1.1	4.0
	Akbarpur ...	0.4	9.2	0.8	9.8
	Bhoguipur ...	0.5	17.2	0.4	18.1
	Total ...	1.8	19.6	0.5	14.9
Sengur-Jumna dúáb,	Sikandra ...	2.7	...	2.5	5.2
	Bhoguipur ...	1.2	3.9	2.3	7.4
	Ghatampur ...	4.9	1.7	2.7	9.3
	Total ...	2.9	2.1	2.5	7.5
	District Total ...	20.6	15.5	4.6	40.5

The gradual decrease in irrigation from north to south cannot escape notice. In the Ganges parganahs water is at 20 to 25 feet from the surface ; in the central tracts, from 25 to 35 feet ; in the Jumna parganahs, from 60 to 80 feet, and

irrigation is practically impossible and unremunerative, except for market gardeners.

The Ganges Canal has been elsewhere described. The irrigation during the last ten years has been as follows:—

Name of pargannah.	1867-68.	1868-69.	1869-70.	1870-71.	1871-72.	1872-73.	1873-74.	1874-75.	1875-76.	1876-77.	Average irrigation 1867-70 to 1876-77.
Bithaur ...	9,039	14,872	14,099	11,053	10,251	12,599	15,141	15,576	18,795	16,571	14,255
Bhuraspur ...	21,420	33,130	32,488	28,177	28,794	37,124	40,911	46,444	45,120	49,580	36,455
Jehnau ...	2,923	6,364	6,910	6,487	4,684	7,726	10,192	11,914	12,073	10,931	8,832
Rasulabad ...	3,542	5,591	4,012	5,395	3,068	3,712	5,493	5,629	6,394	5,938	4,859
Akbarpur ...	2,380	6,780	6,217	5,670	5,707	6,712	12,662	17,937	19,568	26,401	11,923
Sah-Balempur,	2,880	4,490	3,900	4,298	2,598	3,766	4,600	5,167	5,051	4,901	4,280
Deapur ...	6,711	15,287	7,490	7,166	6,264	9,255	15,339	19,505	18,564	18,978	12,828
Bikandra ...	...	1,675	3,002	2,021	2,014	1,744	4,199	5,464	4,821	4,650	3,464
Bhogpur ...	...	1,251	2,298	2,084	2,908	2,119	6,628	8,844	8,988	11,035	5,287
Ghatampur ...	50	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
District ...	48,899	99,203	80,911	71,582	65,714	84,777	113,105	134,170	139,525	148,927	104,335

Wells are of four kinds: 1st, entirely of masonry cemented with mortar; 2nd, of brick uncemented; 3rd, unbricked and lined with fascines; 4th, half bricked and half unbricked. The first class are built as works of charity and for agricultural purposes, where the looseness of the substrata forbids the construction of unbricked wells. They cost from Rs. 250 for a two-run well to any sum the owner may be able to spend. The uncemented brick wells are usually constructed by cultivators, who often gradually brick up the well from the bottom so far as will prevent the earth falling in from the filtration of the water. The unbricked or kuchcha well is universal throughout all but the Jumna pargannahs. It is cheap in construction (costing only from five to twenty rupees), and often lasts for many years with annual repairs and cleaning; kuchcha wells have been known which have lasted for forty years. This is, however, dependent on the nature of the subsoil, which varies from pargannah to pargannah and from village to village, or even from "hār" to "hār." The brushwood binders which are coiled round the "melting" strata are made principally of *arhar* (*Cajanus Indicus*) stalks. The average area irrigated from one run is calculated at about five biswas, one-eighth of an acre: and with two runs, eight biswas may be watered if the field is not distant from the well. The comparative cost of irrigation from well and canal is a constant source of dispute, and can never be strictly formulated from the numerous and varying factors in the calculation. On the whole it would appear that flush irrigation is undoubtedly cheaper than well irrigation, and there is also the element of "liberated labour" to be taken into account. For garden crops, however, the

superiority of well irrigation is unquestioned. The "*dhenkli*," or lever well is used in the low kachhār tracts where water is very near the surface. This form of well has been sufficiently described before.¹ The construction of masonry wells by zemindars is not so frequent as in former days, when good landlords like Mr. Maxwell built them in bad as well as in good land. Since the completion of settlement more impulse has been given to their construction, but the sum to be raised for the necessary expenditure is a large one for a cultivator, and the system of *takāvi* offered by Government is unattractive from its complexity.

The following statement, compiled from the settlement records, gives details of all wells in the district:—

Name of parganah.	Number of wells.			Masonry wells in work.					Owners of wells in work.			Average depth of water.	
	Masonry.	Non-masonry.	Fallen.	Under 5 years.	5 to 15 years.	15 to 20 years.	Before settlement.	Total.	Zemindar.	Cultivator.	Total.	From surface.	In well.
Bilhanr. ...	786	3,043	1,454	..	...	...	...	786	...	..	786	27'	9'
Shiurājpur ...	645	3,305	5,918	89	56	80	250	475	103	372	475	22'	13'
Jajmau ...	1,006	7,605	8,064	62	64	123	443	691	198	493	691	23'	10'
Rasūlabad ...	800	6,621	11,992	113	112	121	252	603	244	357	601	24'	11'
Akbarpur ...	695	4,991	6,228	28	60	104	202	391	112	282	394	30'	13'
Sārā-Salempur ...	902	5,600	6,033	82	106	143	418	749	237	512	749	31'	13'
Derapur ...	203	1,472	3,686	10	9	11	21	51	24	27	51	29'	10'
Sikandra ...	355	430	1,26	7	22	23	120	172	49	123	172	37'	15'
Bhognipur ...	762	289	808	5	8	21	110	144	57	87	144	69'	16'
Ghātampur ...	1,203	1,237	2,767	28	115	132	470	745	271	474	745	41'	32'
District ...	7,357	34,593	48,211	...	..	...	...	4,808	...	...	4,808	35'	18'

Tanks were constructed at the great famine as works of public utility, but have fallen out of repair, and have been rarely, if ever, used for purposes of irrigation. The village ponds and lakes afford irrigation for one or perhaps two waterings, but the value to be attached to this source of irrigation varies of course with the permanence of the supply, which fails when most wanted, in insufficient rains. Irrigation from the rivers, except the river Isan, is practically unknown, though here and there surplus canal water which has been discharged into the smaller streams is made use of.

¹ See Gazetteer, IV, 518, and Wright's memorandum on the agriculture of the Cawnpore district, para. 47.

The supply, however, is precarious and dependent on the demands for water for the regular distributaries.

The increase in irrigation within the last forty years is difficult to calculate. The data supplied at the last settlement are manifestly incorrect and based on a false principle. Mr. Rose included in his irrigated area all land on the edges of lakes or rivers which might be irrigated, but which he himself admits are practically never irrigated. A comparison of the figures of the village records at both settlements gives the following result:—

Parganah.	Last settle- ment.	Present set- tlement.	Increase.
Bilhaur	44	59	15
Shurajpur	35	66	31
Jayman	88	50	12
Kasulabad	50	68	18
Akbarpur	34	46	12
Sarh	24	51	14
Salempur	41		
Drapur	29	48	26
Bhogpur	6	8	2
Ghatampur	5	25	17

The larger proportion of this increase is due to the introduction of canal irrigation.

The following account of the cultivation of *pán* in this district will be of use for comparison with the system pursued in other districts. *Pán* is usually sown on the slope of the mound (*bhit*) which is formed by the earth thrown up when excavating a tank. Fresh earth is heaped up in the month of Chait (March) and a framework of *sentha* or *sarpul* and bamboo is erected, which protects the delicate plant during the prevalence of the hot winds. *Pán* and *joár* are sown on the same ground in alternate years. The tender shoots from a growing plant are laid flat and covered with wet earth, then with grass, over which water is sprinkled four times a day. The *pán* is planted in rows (*mándha*), and an acre of ground will contain fifty rows, each 125 cubits in length and three cubits in breadth, with an interval of one cubit between each row. Each row comprises thirty *kuntra*, and each *kuntra* from eight to nine *gdt* or beds, and each *gdt* has six *dhapia* or lumps of clay in which the *sentha* are inserted and the plants are sown, two to five being trained up each *sentha*. For each row the following must be provided: 125 bambus, four bundles of *gandar* grass, 1,000 *sentha* or stalks of the *márá* grass and *kus* from the jungle for tying the same. The seedlings cost

as follows per *dholi*:—*kaker* three annas, *bangla* and *desdwar* two annas, *kaperi* one anna. Constant labour is required to rear the plant; it must be watered twice every day till well grown, but afterwards one watering a day is enough; and after the rains every third day; fifteen *gharas* of water per row are given, and one man can only water five rows in the day. Meanwhile plants of the pumpkin kind are grown over the framework to keep the interior cool, and the betel vines are trained up the light supports prepared for them. In *Sáwan*, *Bhádón*, and *Kuár* the plants are manured with a mixture of flour (*kanak*) and oilcake; this costs $10\frac{1}{2}$ annas per row. In *Jeth Daserá* the oldest member of the family goes to the middle of the *bhit*, worships the *deota* with a burnt-offering of *ghi* and *gúr*, and picks a *dholi* (200 leaves), which he distributes to his friends, from whom he receives presents (only the inferior leaves, however, are picked till *Kuár Daserá*); after which the plant is pulled every fortnight as long as there is any left; five rows being left for seedlings, which are never touched except near the ground to keep them clean.

The earliest famine of which we have any notice, so far as it affected the present district of Cawnpore, is that of 1783-84, known by the
 Famines. Hindus as the *cháltsa*, from the *sambat* year (1840) in which it occurred. Though it lasted two years, Mr. Rose thought that its effects were not so calamitous, however, as those of the *chauránawe* (1894 *sam.*) or famine of 1837-38. He wrote that "there was not such a total absence of vegetation, and therefore cattle lived; and *moth*, a valuable means of sustenance, was spared to the people." Colonel Baird Smith, on the other hand, observes: "When recently in Cawnpore, I had some conversation regarding it with a very old-native merchant, a man who said he believed he was ninety years of age, and was, at any rate, old enough at the time of this famine to have retained some personal recollections of it, strengthened, no doubt, afterwards by the traditions relating to it which even still linger among the native community. He had recollections also of all the other subsequent famines, but among the entire series he ranked that of 1783 as the most severe, even more so than that of 1837-38, and much more so than that of 1860-61. The old man's faculties seemed scarcely impaired, and his benevolence of character was shown by the fact that he was, at the time I saw him, supporting at his sole cost fifty or sixty starving people." Again, in 1803-4, famine devastated Cawnpore, but a year after the ceded provinces had come under British rule, when a prosperous season had given an appearance of justice to the crushing revenue demand, enhanced even beyond the exaggerated estimates of the Nawáb's government. There was a total failure of the *kharif* and *rabi* crops; zemindars were absconding, and no offers were forthcoming

for the vacant estates. Revenue was remitted to the amount of Rs. 4,09,842, and advances were made for distribution to the amount of Rs. 1,80,826. Years elapsed before the district recovered its normal condition of prosperity, and the interval proved one of the most disastrous to the old landed proprietary that has characterised British Government in any part of India. The district was again visited by famine in 1812-13 (1220 fasli), which Mr. Newnham reported was more severe even than that of 1803-4, but exact information regarding the effect of this famine is wanting.

In 1833-34 the southern parganahs of the district came within the scope of the famine which devastated Bundelkhand. The kharif Famines of 1833-34 and 1837-38. was a total failure all over the district. In the irrigated parganahs along the Ganges the rabi harvest was plentiful, and the revenue was paid without much difficulty. But in Bhognipur and the Jumna division of the district both crops utterly failed; and in exacting the Government demand, it is to be feared that all the profits which the poor people had for years past accumulated were forced into the Government treasury. The district had not recovered from the losses of 1241 fasli when it was visited by the much more severe affliction of the drought of 1245 fasli. On the 28th August, 1837, Mr. Rose reported that the rain crop was a failure: cotton, indigo, sugarcane, and other rent-paying crops yielded nothing; in November a little rain refreshed the *jôâr* and *bâjra* crops in the southern and western parganahs, but in the remainder of the district the kharif was a total failure. No rain fell to admit of preparing the ground for the winter crop, and the country was one barren waste: not a blade of grass was to be seen; the cattle, scantily fed on leaves of trees, died in thousands; villages were depopulated by famine and emigration; immense tracts of arable land lay fallow, there being neither men nor cattle to cultivate it. Relief works were established at which Rs. 44,000 were expended, takavi was distributed, and Rs. 17,10,971 of revenue remitted in 1837 and two following years, whilst a further decrease in the revenue of Rs. 1,57,85 was given at revision of settlement. The parganahs along the Ganges suffered most; the southern parganahs had showers in the rainy season, and some of the kharif escaped, whilst some of the rabi in the northern parganahs was saved by irrigation; and along the Jumna, where the cultivation is dependent on rain, the rabi entirely failed. Cawnpore escaped the famines of 1861 and 1868, and is now so extensively protected, with the exception of the Sengur-Jumna duâb, by canal distributaries, which irrigate about one-sixth of the cultivated area, and its external communications are so good that no such fearful distress as devastated the country in 1837 should ever again affect it.

There are no large tracts of jungle in the district; cultivation has brought under the plough the belts of dhák (*Butea frondosa*) which harboured robbers and revenue defaulters. Isolated patches of jungle in Bilhaur, Derapur, and Akbarpur are all that remain, and these in turn are fast disappearing. The district is, however, well wooded, as there are 55,972 acres under groves of mango, *mahuwa* (chiefly in the southern and drier parganahs), *jáman*, and other trees, while coppices of *ním* for rafters and scantlings are to be found in every village. The *babul*, too, grows plentifully in the ravines of the several rivers, and is occasionally planted by *zohindars*, with, however, but little advantage to the cultivator.

The *úsar* plains of the Ganges-Pánu duáb are saturated with impure salts, which, attracted to and deposited on the surface by capillary action, sterilize the places where most prevalent, and when carried by means of running water to fertile tracts, sterilize those also; wells are usually on the edge of the field which they are intended to irrigate, but canal distributaries are often at some distance, hence it is not unusual to take the small channels over *úsar*, when the water taking up these highly soluble salts deposits them on the field so irrigated. The ignorant cultivator immediately attributes the defertilization of his land to the character of the canal water rather than to his own carelessness. Mr. Buck in his memorandum on "*reh*" has shown by careful experiment that the surface salts are carried off by the drainage of the first fall of rain, and that if the cultivator were to protect his fields by ever so small a wall, the defertilizing salts could never obtain entrance. This, however, from want of knowledge he neglects to do; and whilst on the one hand he may be seen making head year by year against the *úsar* by ploughing wider and wider into the waste near his fields, on the other hand he lets his field become *úsar* for want of a few simple precautions. The defertilizing effects of *reh* may be seen in their worst form in the south of parganah Bilhaur and north-west of parganah Shiurápur, where the vicious alignment of canal distributaries has caused a serious block to natural drainage. The waters drained from the *úsar* plains, and saturated with "*reh*," deposit it where they are held up by obstacles, and considerable loss has accrued from this cause in villages near the Non river. The *tardi* of the same river has also suffered from the accumulation of *reh*, where the natural flow of its waters into the Ganges has for some years been obstructed: compensation, however, has been obtained by the zemindars (not the cultivator) in the competition for licenses to manufacture *khari* and *sahi* from these thick and wide deposits of salt. In the month of May ook like a sheet of snow. The rains fall in the month of June and July.

in the village of Rawan Lalpur amounted in one year to Rs. 1,400. Similarly in the low and already moist soils of the *kachhar*, where canal water has been brought, the excess of saturation has brought to the surface "*reh*" in large quantities. Hundreds of acres have been thus defertilized, but on the representation of the settlement officer the proximate cause—canal irrigation—has been stopped. In the Pandu-Rind and Rind-Sengur duabs the waste lands are not so full of these salts; the only place where any injury has been done is in Umran, parganah Akbarpur, and from the same cause, excessive saturation due to obstructed drainage. The more correct alignment of canal distributaries will probably effectually prevent the spread of "*reh*," and the restoration of natural drainage to those tracts which have suffered from its obstruction will in course of time, it is believed, remove the salts, which are only on the surface, and thus restore the land to its former fertility. The manufacture of *khāsi* (Glauber's salts), *shora* (saltpetre or nitrate of potash), and *sajji* (impure carbonate of soda) has been sufficiently described, and need not be noticed here.¹

Light soils when poorly cultivated or left fallow become spontaneously covered with *kāns*. The seed is light and is carried about by the wind, and where it rests in light friable soils the weed spreads rapidly. It occupies the land for periods varying from five to twenty years, and dies out of itself, when its roots spreading and interlacing find no further space in which to spread and choke each other and die. The only means of extirpation are to leave the land fallow or to thoroughly manure it, especially with goats' and sheep's dung: or as an alternative to the latter course to allow cattle to stand and constantly dung in the field, when with the trampling of the cattle and the heat of the fresh manure the roots dry up. The only secret of resistance to the spread of the grass is good cultivation, which depends in a great measure on the density of the population. Hence we find this weed most prevalent in thinly populated tracts, where the outlands are little cared for or cultivated, or where (as occurred in the mutiny) large tracts are thrown out of cultivation for a year or so owing to the desertion of the cultivators. *Kāns*, in short, requires a light friable soil, moisture, and opportunity, for where the population is dense it cannot find a footing, much less gain ground. There is no traffic in jungle produce in this district.

The only stone procurable in this district is an inferior sort of the

limestone, which is found at Mawānpur near Kalyānpur, and Tilahat, near Mahārājpur. The

majority of the buildings in this district are constructed of bricks varying in size from 12

small native "*lakhauri*," $6" \times 4\frac{1}{2}" \times 1\frac{1}{2}"$, to the size usually manufactured by the Department of Public Works for all Government buildings, $9" \times 4\frac{1}{2}" \times 2\frac{1}{2}"$. Clay, suitable for making good bricks is procurable in most parts of the district, but well-shaped and sound bricks are difficult to get, as the natives will not take the trouble to make them carefully. Bricks are, as a rule, slop-moulded on a piece of ground cleared for the purpose, and are consequently very rough and irregular. Sand-moulded bricks made on proper tables are procurable at Cawnpore only.

Timber for building purposes comes from Bahramghát. The average cost of *sál*, which is almost invariably used for the roofs and doors of houses, is from Re. 1-12 to Rs. 2-4 per cubic foot in the log, and when squared from Rs. 3 to Rs. 4 per cubic foot, according to the size of the scantling required. Teak is chiefly used for furniture, and sometimes for doors; it costs about Rs. 3-4 per cubic foot in the log, and Rs. 5 per cubic foot in position. *Sisu* grown in the district is procurable in the bazar; it is chiefly used for inferior furniture, and costs about Rs. 3 per foot, but good *sisu*, of which the best furniture is made, comes from Bahramghát, and costs about Rs. 3-8 per cubic foot. *Nim* is procurable in small quantities, and is chiefly used for door-frames by the natives, who say that insects do not destroy it. *Babul* wood is also procurable in considerable quantity, and is chiefly used in the construction of native cart-wheels, for which purpose it answers well, owing to its toughness; it is also valuable for making charcoal, and is the best wood for brick and lime burning. Tamarind, *dhák*, and *mah uwi* wood are also procurable, but are of very little value, and are used for fuel only.

Stones-lime, as distinguished from kunkur-lime, comes from Banda, and is sold at about one rupee a maund. Kunkur-lime is procurable in great abundance, and is burnt in the usual manner with either wood or cowdung. Kunkur is procurable all over the district, and usually costs Rs. 3 to Rs. 4-8 per 100 cubic feet; the higher rate prevails in the city, near which the quarries are becoming exhausted.

PART III.

INHABITANTS OF THE DISTRICT.

THE first authoritative census was taken by Mr. Montagu in 1847, and stands now as revised during the cold weather season of 1847-48. It gave a total population of 935,531.

There were 918,287 Hindús, of whom 565,249 were agriculturists, and 74,744 Muhammadans, of whom 18,211 were agriculturists. The total density of the population was 425 to the square mile. Jájman parganah was then, as now, the most densely populated, the city population being estimated at 108,796. Shiurájpur, Bilhaur, and Sárh Salempur followed next in order, and Sikandra had the thinnest population, with a density of only 280 to the square mile. Mr. Montgomery considered this census to be a very correct one; but it is probable that the enumeration of agriculturists was deficient, in spite of the definition supplied to the enumerators of an agriculturist "as a member of all families who derived their support or any part of their income from the cultivation of land, whether or not they conducted the usual agricultural operations."

The towns containing more than 5,000 inhabitants were Bithúr (8,217), Johara Maharájan Singh (5,087), Sachandi (5,517), Rasdhan (5,006), Bhosi (5,176), Bilhaur (5,045), Akbarpur (6,330), and Cawnpore itself.

The next enumeration took place in 1852 under the superintendence of Mr. Greathed, who notes the imperfect record of area in the previous census, based as it was almost entirely on the rough native measurement, and not on the professional survey. The difference in area as given in 1852 is therefore considerable, and added to the increase and decrease caused by alluvion and diluvion gives a net increase of over 7,000 acres, distributed as follows. increase by alluvion, 4,699 acres; decrease by diluvion, 12,456 acres: or a net decrease of 7,757 acres; increase in area due to professional survey, 19,032 acres; decrease due to the same cause, 4,208 acres: showing a net increase of 14,828 acres. The total population numbered 1,174,556 souls, of whom 1,085,132 were Hindús (509,811 females), and 89,424 were Musalmans (42,652 females). Of the Hindús 678,116 were agriculturists (316,720 females), and of the Musalmans 19,890 were agriculturists (9,732 females). As compared with 1847-48 the census of 1852 showed an increase of no less than 181,525 within a period of five years, at the rate of 18.26 per cent. The increase was evenly distributed over all the parganahs and even in every village, and the number of enclosures rose from 162,569 in 1847-48 to 191,760 in 1852. In the list of towns containing more than 5,000 inhabitants we lose Rasdhan and Bhosi, and find Shuli (5,128) and Rumiail or Lashkar Bithúr (9,108).

The census of 1865 gave a total population of 1,188,862, with a density of 502 to the square mile. The distribution according to age, religion, and occupation may be tabulated as follows:—

Statistics of census of 1865.

Class	AGRICULTURAL					NON AGRICULTURAL					Grand total.	Number to each square mile.
	Males.		Females		Total	Males.		Females.		Total.		
	Adults.	Boys.	Adults.	Girls.		Adults.	Boys.	Adults.	Girls.			
Hindus	298,712	117,224	198,518	100,131	612,575	143,196	60,983	14,620	67,522	400,601	1,000,000	502
Muslims and others	5,982	3,132	1,321	2,791	17,449	2,365	12,575	24,798	10,594	71,920	89,769	
Total ...	298,712	117,224	198,518	100,131	612,575	143,196	60,983	14,620	67,522	400,601	1,000,000	502

This enumeration excludes 715 railway employes and 3,259 military. The towns having more than 5,000 inhabitants include Kāshipur, Sachendi, Akbarpur, Bilhaur, Bithūr, and Cawnpore city, civil station, and cantonments with 113,601 inhabitants.

The census of 1872 gave a total population of 1,155,439, with a density of 495 to the square mile. Of these 1,065,786 were Hindús and 89,653 were Muhámmadans and others. The following tables show the population as classified, (1) into agriculturists and those following other occupations, (2) into sex, age, and religion:—

(1.)

Religion.	Landowners.		Agriculturists.		Non-agriculturists.		Total.	
	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.
Hindús	19,297	16,427	278,910	337,028	274,065	240,049	572,284	493,598
Muhámmadans	1,055	1,009	5,340	4,944	40,960	38,807	46,555	43,560
Christians	...	...	...	...	261	222	261	227
Total	20,352	17,436	284,250	341,972	315,286	279,078	630,566	534,805

This table does not include British soldiers or railway employes :—

Name of parganah.	HINDUS				MUSALMANS AND OTHERS NOT HINDUS.				Total.	
	Up to 15 years.		Adults.		Up to 15 years.		Adults.			
	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.
Bilhaur	17,970	14,909	29,930	25,464	1,590	1,429	2,597	2,660	51,077	44,463
Shiurdjpur	27,415	22,116	45,188	41,612	1,083	952	1,792	1,704	75,458	66,384
Jajmau, including city and cantonments.	39,837	33,620	83,274	70,769	6,321	5,882	14,288	12,076	143,723	122,947
Rasulabad	19,390	16,394	31,885	26,278	898	849	1,660	1,371	53,873	44,332
Sārā Salempur	18,348	15,225	31,121	30,533	773	722	1,487	1,241	51,582	47,721
Akbarpur	18,424	14,619	33,547	28,227	1,187	969	2,271	1,975	55,382	45,789
Derapur	22,808	18,990	40,768	34,805	1,208	1,046	2,167	2,028	66,949	58,809
Bhognipur	17,621	15,198	32,812	29,773	1,831	1,591	3,177	3,148	53,411	46,710
Ghātampur	21,535	18,332	40,618	37,980	981	831	1,796	1,724	64,933	58,867
Total	303,218	269,281	569,044	524,241	15,718	14,270	31,128	28,527	619,118	532,821

Thus we have the following distribution of the population: landowners 3·25; agriculturists 45·15; non-agricultural 51·60. But the classification adopted by the settlement department (based on the census figures and verified by the settlement staff, but exclusive of the purely urban population of the city of Cawnpore) was: landowners 3·4; cultivators 56·7; labourers 4·45: giving a total of those connected with the land of 64·55, and of those unconnected with the land of 35·45.

The statistics relating to infirmities show that in 1872 amongst the total population of the district there were 101 insane persons (34 females), or 1·3 per 10,000 of the population; 105 idiots (31 females), or 1·3 per 10,000 inhabitants; 247 deaf and dumb (73 females), or 2·1 per 10,000; 4,252 blind (1,902 females), or 36·7 per 10,000; and 219 lepers (43 females), or 1·8 per 10,000.

The statistics of age collected in 1872 exhibit the following results,
 Ages. classified according to sex and religion :—

Ages.	Hindús.				Musalmáns.				Total population.			
	Males.	Percentage on total Hindús.	Females.	Percentage on total Hindús.	Males.	Percentage on total Musalmáns.	Females.	Percentage on total Musalmáns.	Males.	Percentage on total population.	Females.	Percentage on total population.
Up to 1 year ...	21,698	3.8	20,329	4.1	1,836	3.9	1,783	4.1	23,548	3.3	22,105	4.1
Between 1 & 6 years.	68,625	12.0	61,593	12.8	5,083	10.6	5,269	12.4	73,722	11.9	66,908	12.4
Ditto .6 & 12,	79,176	14.8	62,107	12.5	6,310	13.5	5,303	12.5	85,525	13.8	67,459	12.5
Ditto 12 & 20 „	99,361	17.4	80,693	16.3	7,659	16.3	6,899	16.3	107,049	17.2	87,651	16.5
Ditto 20 & 30 „	112,978	19.7	102,065	20.6	9,911	21.2	9,155	21.5	122,929	19.8	111,254	20.7
Ditto 30 & 40 „	84,909	14.8	74,188	15.0	7,250	15.5	6,426	15.1	92,182	14.8	80,636	15.0
Ditto 40 & 50 „	58,358	10.2	49,687	10.0	4,624	9.9	4,177	9.8	62,896	10.1	53,876	10.0
Ditto 50 & 60 „	32,169	5.6	27,943	5.6	2,607	5.5	2,323	5.5	34,781	5.6	30,270	5.6
Above 60 „	15,088	2.6	12,919	2.6	1,325	2.9	1,245	2.9	16,498	2.6	14,167	2.6

The proportion of Hindu males under 12 to the total Hindu population is 29.6 per cent., and of Hindu females is 28.3; amongst Musalmáns the percentages are 29.6 and 29.0 respectively. Taking the quinquennial periods up to 15 years of age, or 0 to 5, 5 to 10, and 10 to 15 years, the percentage of both sexes to the total population is 14.1, 11.6, and 9.2 respectively; or taking females only, the numbers are 14.7, 11.3, and 8.2 per cent. Females are slightly in excess of males in the first period, and considerably below them in the other two. In the third period the males show 10.0 to 8.2 females. Taking the total population of the same sex and religion, the proportion of Hindu males of the ages of 10 to 15 to all the Hindu males is 5.7, and of Hindu females to all Hindu females is only 4.6; whilst Musalmáns show 5.4 and 4.5 respectively. From the ages of 15 to 20 the proportion of Hindu males to the total of the same sex and religion is 15.9 per cent., and of Hindu females is 15.3 per cent.; whilst Musalmáns show 15.3 for both males and females. The proportion of males to females amongst the Hindu population is 53.8 to 46.4, amongst the Musalmáns and others it is 53.2 to 47.8. The percentage of the Hindús in the total population

is 92·8; of Muhammadans and others 7·8. No explanation can be offered, or was offered, by the Collector of the apparent retrogression in population. It is probably due only to more correct enumeration, for as cultivation has increased, some increase instead of decrease in population might have been looked for.

The records of the census of 1872 give the following distribution of the Hindu population amongst the four conventional divisions of caste :—

Class.	Male.	Female.	Total	Percentage of population.
Brahmans	95,890	87,414	183,304	17·2
Rajpûts	54,843	37,690	92,533	8·7
Baniyas	20,406	17,045	37,451	3·6
Other castes	401,133	351,375	752,508	70·6

The Brahmans belong almost entirely to the Kanaujiya subdivision, under which are enumerated 176,814 persons; the Gauras, the next in number, showing only 2,023 souls. Members of the Jājhotiya, Sārasūt, Dakkhini, Gujrāti, Mārwarī, and Sanādh divisions are also found, and have been separately numbered. From a very early time the Kanaujiyas have sent out colonies to the neighbouring districts, and the Kanaujiya houses of Lakhna and Dhalpīnagar in the Etāwa district and of portions of rīta and Farukhabad owe their origin to the Cawnpore families. Brahmans and Rajpûts formerly owned 54·9 per cent. of the entire district, and still own 31·5 per cent. Brahmans, too, form one-fifth of the entire cultivating population.

The most notable subdivision in this district is the Jaganbansis, who own a large portion of parganahs Ghātampur and Sārā Jaganbansis of Ghātampur. formerly included in parganah Kora Their origin is thus described :—

Deo Narāyan Kanaujiya Avasthi was a considerable banker and grain seller in Jahānabad, in parganah Kora, but owned only one small village near Jahānabad which he gave in alms to Bhāts. His son Jagan Parshād was attached to the imperial commissariat, and attained to such influence that he was aided by a portion of the imperial army in enforcing a bond he held against the Gaurama, by which they had mortgaged their estates to him for three lakhs of rupees. It need hardly be said that with such assistance he was successful, and was not ungrateful, for some time afterwards,

he supplied the entire camp of the emperor with food during one of Akbar's many expeditions into the Duáb and refused to receive any payment. The emperor heard of this unusual proceeding, and calling for the contractor invested him with the title of Chaudhri of parganah Kora, and directed him to eject the Arakhs; and in memory of his victory over the Gautams, authorized him to assume the affix 'Singh' and other marks peculiar to Rájputs, such as the form of salutation, &c. The family is still recorded as proprietors of a large area, which in parganah Ghátampur is being increased by purchase. Other notable families of Brahmans are the Dúbe Chaudhris of Bithúr, the Chaube Chaudhris of Majhawan, the Tiwári Chaudhris of Tirwa, the Tiwáris of Halepur, the Tiwáris of Ktanela, and the Dichits of Umarhat. Their importance, however, is small, compared both in position and influence with the Rájputs.

The principal Rájput clans found in the district are the Chapdel (14,028), Gaur (12,175), Chauhán (9,566), Bais (6,859), Kachhwáha (6,211), Gautam (6,074), Chamar Gaur (4,444), Sengar (4,412), Gahlot (3,081), Parihár (2,622), Panwár (2,491), Bhadauriya (2,163), Gaharwár (2,323), Ráthor (1,733), Tuán (1,534), Sombansi (1,291), and Ujena or Ujayini (1,007). The following clans have less than 1,000 members each:—Báchhal, Bisen, Banáphar, Bháradhvaj, Chandrabansi, Dhákara, Dikshit, Donwar, Jaiswár, Janwár, Jádón, Kachhaura, Karehuliya, Raghubansi, Raikwár, Surajbansi, Sarwar, Sisodiya, and others not specified. Taking the Gaurs and Chamar Gaurs as one, they number 16,619 souls and occupy parganah Rasúlabad, Derapur, and portions of Akbarpur in the west of the district. The Chandels cover nearly the whole of Shiurajpur and Jájmau, and the Chauháns occur principally in Akbarpur, Narwal, and portions of Shiurajpur and Derapur. The Bais and Gautams divided Sárh Salempur between them, and the former also hold portions of Ghátampur. Rájputs still supply thirteen per cent. of the cultivating classes, and with Brahmans still hold 31·5 per cent. of the entire area.

The early history of the district and the history of the principal clans and leading families are so intimately connected with each other, that it is more convenient to collect together here the scanty traditions regarding their origin preserved by the leading clans of the present day, than to separate the different parts of each story according to the more correct classification which more abundant materials have allowed in other district notices. Two of the earlier traditions regarding this district refer to the founding of Biláspur in parganah Sikandra, and Ghátampur in the parganah of the same name. Some thousand years ago, so runs the legend, one

Rāja Mán Singh, Pajwár, a Kachhwáha Rájput from Nibágharh in Bundelkhand, had charge of four tracts (*ilákas*) in this part of the Kachhwáha immigration. country—Deokali in the Etáwa district, Raipur in Jalaun, and Biláspur and Sháhpur in Cawnpore. He settled in Biláspur and brought with him the four castes, Jarha Lodhás, Kaká Pándes, Kharana Baniyas, and Kulsarisht Káyaths. The Lodhas, who are still in proprietary possession of Biláspur, are said to have been servants, and the Káyaths to have been employed in the office. The dynasty lasted for nine generations, when it was terminated by the restoration of the Meos to power. In a previous volume¹ it has been shown that in very early times the country towards Gwañat was occupied by Kachhwáha princes, and that numerous colonies were planted by their descendants in the neighbouring territories, notably at Kachhwáhaгарh in Jalaun, whence, later on, other colonies set forth to occupy the fertile plains of the Central Duáb. Thus we have Kachhwáha colonies in Etáwa on the borders of the Cawnpore district and on the opposite side of the Jumna in Bundelkhand. They are still numerous in Cawnpore, but have lost nearly all the influence that tradition has assigned to them in former times.

The second legend says that one thousand years ago a Dikhit Rájput, named Ghátamdeo, came into the district from Kharagpur and married into a Gautam family, and received from his father-in-law, Rája Rikh of Argal, 181 villages of the Meos as dowry.

We invariably find the Meos named as a tribe in occupation of the greater portion of the Central Duáb, and in possession when the first great and permanent movement of the Rájput clans now occupying this tract was made. In Cawnpore they are said to have held the south-western portion of the district at the time of the Rájput immigration, and it was on their lands principally that each succeeding wave of invaders settled. This brave and turbulent race, their hands against every man, and every man's hand against them, were not easily conquered. Tradition preserves accounts of unceasing raids on their part, followed by reprisals on the part of the newcomers, who not unfrequently secured by treachery what their arms were unable to procure. The earliest tradition regarding the Meos places them at Kumhi, on the Sengur, in pargana Akbarpur, where they were ruled over by a Rája Lahria some seven hundred years ago. There is a *khera* or mound there in the ravine of the Sengur which is still known as Lahrápur.² Another stronghold was in Kukchi, another in Rahniapur, whilst in Bhognipur were established four forts—Mayápurí. (Máwar), Soi (Sháhpur), Moi (Teonga), and Umargarh

¹ Gazetteer, I., 10, 208; IV., 277. • ² For the Meos see further, Gazetteer, III., 285.

(Musānagar). The Meos were attacked by four successive bodies of immigrants, the Gaur, Bais, and Chauhān Rājputs, and the Musalmān Mughals, but still were able to establish a *chaurāsi* or group of eighty-four villages on the banks of the Jumna, of which fourteen villages are in this district in pargana Sikandra. The Meos here, as elsewhere, call themselves Rājputs, and adopt the subdivisional names of Chandel, Chauhān, Gautam, &c. But though their origin is lost in obscurity, there is no doubt that they are not true Rājputs, by whom they are utterly despised, and with whom they cannot intermarry or eat. They are to this day the most difficult class of proprietors to deal with, always behindhand with their revenue, and in the mutiny pouring out of their fastnesses on the Jumna and devastating the surrounding country.

In the east of the district, or pargana Sārī Salempur, the old occupants of the country are called Arakhs, who divide themselves into seven sub-tribes called Arakh, Khagār, Khidmatia, Gwāl, Bāchar, Chebdār, and Adhrij. The Adhrij, who derive their origin from intermarriage with a Brahman, are the highest in estimation, though all are now generally known under the name Khidmatia. The Arakhs have nearly entirely disappeared, being only found in any number in a hamlet of Sirsaul and in Majhawau. The only other trace we have of the old occupants of the country is in the occasional mention of a tribe of robbers under the name Bhyārs. Bhyārs¹ in parganas Bilhaur and Rasūlabad, and of Lodhas in Prās in pargana Ghātampur.

Coming to more historical times, we have to consider the immigration of the great Rājput clans, of whom the Chandels have always held, and still hold, the most prominent position in the district. From two family histories (*unsudwalis*) obtained by Mr. Wright—the one in Persian belonging to the now extinct branch of Shiurājpur, the other in Hindi belonging to the Sachendi family—are derived the particulars of the history of the Chandels given here. Two other pedigrees—one belonging to the Sakrej branch, the other to the bard of the Chandels who lives at Kākupur—were also collated by Mr. Wright. The following is the pedigree of the Shiurājpur branch:—

¹ Mr. Wright identifies this tribe with the Bhihars mentioned by Elliot (I, 19) as being by local tradition one of the aboriginal races of Rohilkhand and the Upper Duab, and to whom is attributed some connection with the Bhars, but is unable to throw any further light on their origin. I think, however, they can be identified with the Bhars themselves; and from the numerous local traditions collected by me in the notice of the Etāwa district, there can be little doubt but that the Bhars once occupied a considerable portion of Cannupur, and played no unimportant part in its early history. See Gazetteer, IV., 353.

Pedigree of Shiurajpur Chandels.

Name.	Remarks.	Name.	Remarks.
1 Brahma.		45 Anangpáldeo.	
2 Atr.		46 Budhpáldeo.	
3 Chandrama.		47 Gurupáldeo.	
4 Budh ...	Founded the Jhán-si Ráj.	48 Dhanpáldeo.	
5 Pururavas ...	Founded the Prág Ráj.	49 Sheodattpáldeo.	
6 Ayo.		50 Hardattdeo.	
7 Nakoh.		51 Káphdeo ...	Panohdeo, his brother, founded Kal-lu Kankur. Persian manuscript.
8 Jijhát ..	Founded Jájmae		
9 Pur.		52 Ritshideo.	
10 Jamiji.		53 Basopátdeo.	
11 Prichinna or Pri-dhamandeo.		54 Grehandeo.	
12 Parbir.		55 Bijaisurdeo.	
13 Manusdeo.		56 Tiriyaqi ...	Founded Telinga-na. Kárupur manuscript gives Abdudh.
14 Dhirathdeo.			
15 Sirbangdeo.		57 Damkhok ...	Founded Chanderi Chatra Har.
16 Sanjaitdeo.			
17 Hinjaitdeo.		58 Sisipál ...	Founded Mandrik. Slain at the great horse sacrifice of king Yudhishtir.
18 Rudras.			
19 Kirtangdeo.		59 Surajpál	
20 Sukrdamdeo.		60 Anandpál.	
21 Rityujdeo.		61 Bansipál.	
22 Sisasthdeo.		62 Bijaipál.	
23 Dewákhdeo or Deokhdeo.		63 Karnpál.	
24 Jámdeo or Jait-deo.		64 Raghupál.	
25 Ritpaideo.		65 Bnhmrikh.	
26 Ritbharandeo.		66 Birinjrikh.	
27 Sarmáthardeo.		67 Anangrikh.	
28 Dhirtyágl.		68 Banprisidh.	
29 Kritirideo or Kritiyangani.		69 Tipurdeo or Tar-purdeo.	
30 Sirpatideo.		70 Chandradach or Chandriyghm.	
31 Bardhárideo.		71 Bihdeo.	
32 Subhdeo.		72 Kiratdeo.	
33 Budhsair.		73 Rikhhbrahm.	
34 Dharmadhir.		74 Anarbrahm ...	Founded Ratha and Mirath.
35 Chandrapuras or Chatterbal.	Founded Chandi-Chandáwal in the Dakhin. Persian manuscript	75 Sirkharibrahm.	
36 Bijaisidh or Singh.		76 Madibrahm.	
37 Harsidh.		77 Madanbrahm ...	Founded Mahoba.
38 Kamálsidh or Kamsidhpál.		78 Itatanbrahm.	
39 Subansidh.		79 Gyauchandr or Manchandy.	
40 Banadhir.		80 Jajjaibrahm.	
41 Gunrasadhirdeo.		81 Bijjaibrahm.	
42 Sarpáldeo.		82 Kiratbrahm.	
43 Harpáldeo.		83 Ballabbrahm.	
44 Lokpáldeo.			

Name.			Remarks.		
84	Parmaldeo	...	Kalinjar fort taken by Kutb-ad-din, 1202 A.D.	97	Gargajdeo.
85	Sabbajit	...	Migrated to Kanauj, 1223 S (Persian manuscript), 1180 S. (Hindi manuscript.)	98	Karchanddeo.
86	Gyásdeo.			99	Udechand.
87	Ghansyádeo.			100	Srideo.
88	Bihardeo.			101	Chanddeo.
89	Iahardeo.			102	Karanleo.
90	Supdeo.			103	Sainsárchand.
91	Basdeo.			104	Ajakhand.
92	Khakhdeo.			105	Jit Singh.
93	Dhahdeo.			106	Khemkarár.
94	Jairajdeo.			107	Rámchandr
95	Shiurádeo	...	Migrated to Shiurájpur, 1393 S (Persian manuscript), 1383 S. (Hindi manuscript)	108	Jagatman
96	Bahaldeo	..	Omitted in Sakrej manuscript.	109	Sabalsáh
				110	Indarjit.
				111	Zoráwar Singh
				112	Mandhata.
				113	Hindupat
				114	Risál Singh.
				115	Shiu Singh
				116	Mahendur Singh.
				117	Dán Singh.
				118	Sati Parshád.

Contemporary of Akbar
Do. of Jahángir,
1640 A.D.

Contemporary with Firoz Shah.

Dan Singh, afterwards Rája.

The Chandels are of the Chandruin *got*, and trace their origin through Chandra to Brahma, including in their pedigree historic names such as Jijhát and Pur. From Brahma to Sati Parshad, the last Rája, they number 118 generations. The Hindi manuscript describes the mystic birth of Chandrabrahm from the intrigue of Chandra and Himávatí, giving the date as Kártik Badi 4, S. 204. According to the promise of his putative father, Chandrabrahm established his dynasty after a series of battles waged by countless hosts of horsemen, and paid for by impossible treasures, in Chandi-Chandáwal in the Dakhin. He and his successors are credited with universal empire, and with taking tribute from the kings of Rám and Ceylon. He founded Kálinjar, and cadet branches established themselves in the Karnátic in Kalu Kankar, in Míráth, Sambhal, and Kumaun. The history of the Chandels, according to local tradition, appears to be really divided into the history of the following dynasties:—

- (1) the Cháandi-Chandáwal branch;
- (2) the Chanderi branch founded by Dámkhok;
- (3) the Mahoba branch founded by Madanbrahm;
- (4) the Kanauj branch founded by Sabbajit; and
- (5) the Shiurájpur branch founded by Shiuráj Singh.

One of the most prominent names in the history of the family is that of Parmál Deo, the first to abandon the affix or title of Brahmin, on the retention of which, according to the promise of the illustrious father of the race, depended the prosperity and permanence of the dynasty. Parmál Deo, in spite of the aid of those famous champions Alha and Udal, was defeated by Prithiráj Uhaubán, and his fortress Kálinjar was sacked by Kutb-ud-din in 1202, and by successive emperors, until annexed by Akbar in 1570.¹ The Persian manuscript gives but

eight kings of Mahoba, the Hindi manuscript sixteen. After the utter defeat and loss of their country suffered under Brahmaditya, son of Parmál Deo, the whole clan is said to have migrated to Kanauj, which is thus referred to by the Persian manuscript:—"At this time the Gaharwár Rája of Kanauj, who was hitherto rich and prosperous, first from the defeat he had suffered from Rái Pithaura, and afterwards from Shaháb-ud-din Ghorí, left his home and settled in Benares; then Sabhajít, by advice of his vazírs and khádims, established himself in Kanauj." The date of this migration is given by the Persian manuscript as 1223 S., by the Hindi manuscript as 1180 S., a discrepancy which will be noticed in the account of the Farukhabad district. The manuscripts make eight of the line rulers in Kanauj—Sabhajít, Ghansyám Deo, Lahr Deo, Basdeo, Gyas Deo, Bilr Deo, Supdeo, Khákh Deo. From the last came Dhám Deo, who had the following descendants:—

Dhám Deo

Shiuráj Deo, founded Shiurájpur.	Pat Deo, founded Pachor.	Lag Deo, founded Sapáha.
<i>Rája.</i>	<i>Ráwat</i>	<i>Rán</i>
From this branch descended the <i>Ráwat</i> of Onha, parganah Shiuli.	From this branch descended the <i>Rána</i> of Sakrej, parganah Shiuli	From this branch descended the <i>Ráwat</i> of Ráwatpur, parganah Bithúr.

From thence a migration was made to Rádhan, where are the remains of a large fort, and thence to Shiurájpur, of which the

Founding of Shiurájpur.

Persian manuscript gives the following account:—"Shiuráj Deo founded Shiurájpur and called it after his own name, so that from Kumaun to Karra (in the Allahabad district) the whole country of Kanauj was in his possession. Since the rule of the Muhammadans had been established now for some time, all the Rájas and great men of the country attended the emperor's court, and amongst them Shiuráj Deo, regarding whom it was ordered that, leaving Kanauj, he was to reside in tappa Rádhan and Bilhat, in the parganah of Bithúr, where is 'Síta Rasoi.' Shiuráj accordingly obeyed the emperor's order and left the fort of Kanauj. He built Rádhan first and lived there for a time, but subsequently removed to Shiurájpur and established his rule over the neigh-

¹ A full account of the Mahoba branch and the legends were alluded to will be found in Gazetteer, I, 12, 524, where a list of names is also given. For Kálinjar see 1614, 449.

bouring country. While he lived in Kanauj he had soldiers, horses and foot, numerous as the waves of the sea, so that to enumerate them is impossible. They say that when the Rájá went for a short time to Karra, horsemen carried to him the betel leaf prepared for him daily in his home before the hour of midday meal."

The Gautams¹ are said to have bestowed on the Chandel the sixty-two villages which afterwards formed the Rájá's taluka under our settlements, but there is no mention of this source of the Chandel prosperity in either manuscript. It is most probable that like other tribes they were encouraged by grants of land from the emperor to expel the turbulent Moos. Shjuráj Dáo was suc-

ceeded, twelfth in descent, by Rámchandr, a contemporary of the emperor Akbar, who bestowed a *sanad* upon him.²

Jagatman succeeded, and was confirmed in his father's possession by a *sanad* of Abdulláh Khán, vazír of Jahángir. To him succeeded Sabal Singh, who lived about 1640 A.D., and who obtained six *sanads*, declaring him zamíndár of his taluka. After Rájá Sabal Singh came Rájá Indarjít, Zoráwar Singh, Mándhata, and Hindúpat, the last of whom occupied the *gaddi* from about 1715 A.D. to 1757 A.D., and in whose behalf there were several *sanads* of Firoz Sháh and Muhammad Sháh; and also two *pattas*, one of Gobínd Rái Marhatta for 1162 fasli, the other of Bála Rái Marhatta for 1163 fasli. Hindúpat died in 1770 A.D. and was succeeded by Irsál Singh, who died in 1780. His son Shiu Singh was the Rájá with whom our first settlements were made as zamíndár. Shiu Singh died in 1806, and was succeeded by his son Muhendur Singh, a minor. In 1824 Muhendur Singh died, and was succeeded by his uncle Dán Singh, who died in January, 1832, leaving his son Sati Parshád, a boy nine years of age, fated to be the last of this long line of ancient nobility.

¹ Beames' Elliot, I., 116

² The following is a translation of a *sanad* granted by the Emperor Akbar to Rájá Ramchandra:—"Since it has been brought to our notice that from time of old, according to immemorial custom, Rs 15,000 for support, and one *linka* per cultivated *higha* by right of seigniority from the villages of parganah Bithúr, Birkár Kanauj by title of zamíndári, have been received by my good friend Rámchandra Chandel, and that he is in possession of full enjoyment of that grant and fees: he has petitioned our Majesty that an order be passed that the abovementioned grant and fees, by title of zamíndári from the villages abovementioned, according to former custom, be continued in his possession and enjoyment from rabi; that from year to year, and from harvest to harvest, he may enjoy and possess them; and being a true and loyal servant, may for ever pray for our greatness and prosperity. Be it ordered therefore that all officers and servants, jagírdárán and kroríán, now and for ever, obeying this order, and accepting those rights as free, complete, and fixed, leave them in his possession, nor change nor alter in any respect, nor interfere in any way, nor demand a fresh title.

95 villages. ³					
Rádhan	...	44 villages	Bharbedi	...	8 villages.
Bilhat	...	12 "	Haveli	...	16 "
Phalphaná	...	4 "	Barua	...	3 "

³ Of the above, only Rádhan and Barua are names of villages, the remainder are local designations of areas now extinct.

Of the principal branches of the Chandel clan shown above, the Pachor

Pachor, Sakrej, and branch is extinct and the Sakrej branch practically so. Onha.

The Onha (Nonári Bahádúrpur) talúka consisted originally of thirty-four villages, ten of which were held as *nánkar*,¹ but the privilege was resumed by Almás Ali Khán, who left only ten villages in the possession of the family; these have now, owing to sales for arrears of revenue, dwindled down to six villages, which "have only escaped," says Mr. Buck, "on account of their lying in a tract of which the greater part of the cultivated area, consisting of rice land, was not recorded as cultivated in the village papers."

The Sapihi taluka consisted originally of ninety villages, of which forty-eight were separated, and the holder with the title of Rawat became the founder of the Ráwatpur taluka, of which Randhír Singh was the last representative. His estate is now in the hands of the Court of Wards for the benefit of a boy adopted by the widow of his son, who died a week after Randhír Singh. From Ráwatpur one descendant separated his share into the Kákádeo estate, consisting of 23 villages. Of the villages remaining with the original family of Sapihi, thirty-seven have gradually been taken up by other members of the family and two have been given as *pun* to Brahmans. Sapihi, Gangroli, and Kíratpur are the only ones which remain attached to the *gauldi*: and in these even under the English Government, which gives every one his due, the ancestral custom, which retained the whole in the name of the representative of the family, has had to give way before the claims of all the descendants of Híra Singh to their shares calculated *per stirpes*. Hence the revenues of the original seat of the family, Sapihi and Kíratpur, are enjoyed by the cadet branch now represented by Shiudín Singh, and those of Gangroli by the sons of the late Ráo Pahlwán Singh, of whom the eldest is a lunatic.

The original branches held the old parganahs of Shiurájpur, Shiúli, Sachendi. Sakrej, and Bithúr. The branch that settled in Sachendi and overran all the south of parganah Jájmau may be considered but a renegade one. Of its origin the Persian manuscript gives curiously a clearer account than the Hindi manuscript, as follows:—"They say that Har Singh Deo, son of Karkaj Deo, a brother of Karchand, who lived at Bihári (Pyári), on the banks of the Ganges, had a son, Hindu Singh, very strong and great, but infamous for his oppression of the raiyats. At that time Raja Indurjit hearing of this was grievously offended. One day that very man, passing through

¹A. named of Alamgir bestowing the title of Chaudhri of parganah Shiúli confirms this.

Lachhmanpur Misrán, got up a quarrel with the inhabitants, and began to oppress them greatly. The Brahmans complained to the Rájá, and set forth all the oppression they had undergone. The Rájá becoming very angry, wrote to Hindu Singh, ordering him to leave his home and seek another country, and warned him that to eat and drink in this country was forbidden him; it were better he went elsewhere. He then, with all his belongings, went and settled in tappa Sapihi and became the servant of the Ráo of Sapihi. At that time fortune so favoured Hindu Singh that he rose to great power and built forts in Binaur and Sachendi, and established his rule over a large tract of country, and engaged thousands of soldiers, horse and foot, and obtained victories in many battles waged against him. His fame was noised abroad, and he assumed the title of Rájá of Sachendi." From the Hindi manuscript, however, we obtain the following account of the rise of the Sachendi family, which eventually got the possessions of the old family temporarily in its grasp :—"The thirty-fifth was Gargaj Deo, who had two sons, Karchan Deo, by a concubine, and Har Singh Deo, the sister's son of the Tilok Chandi Bais. When Gargaj Deo died Karchan Deo and Har Singh Deo disputed about the succession, hearing which Tilok Chand came to the Ráni and desired she would give the ráj to Har Singh Deo. She refused, and set Karchan Deo upon the *gaddi*. Har Singh Deo left Shiurájpur, came to Binaur, and founded Harsinghpur and a second *gaddi*." The truth appears to be more with the latter account. Hindu Singh being a descendant some generations distant of Harsingh Deo, living in the reigns of Indurjit and Hindúpat, and a contemporary of Firoz Shah, "to which Rájás," says the manuscript, "Hindu Singh, in spite of his power, never failed in respect, nor committed so grave an offence as that of his son, Sambhar Singh." Hindu Singh's power indeed became so great, and his contumacy so determined, that the reigning emperor got the Bhadauriya Rájá to attack him and expel him the country; the great forts of Binaur and Sachendi being given over to the Bhadaurias. Sambhar Singh, however, returned eighteen years afterwards and recovered the whole of the lost territory. This same Sambhar Singh rose to such power that he ousted the young Risál Singh and compelled him to leave the country. The usurper then obtained the title-deeds to the greater part of the country, and established a "garrison in Shiurájpur. With the aid, however, of Nawáb Najaf Khán, Názim of Nawáb Wazir-ul Mamálik Asaf-ud-daula, Risál Singh re-established his authority over the whole parganah of Shiurájpur."

Sachendi, properly Chachendi, is said to have been founded by Chachak Deo, twelfth in descent from Harsingh Deo, and the first to assume the title of Rájá,

though not invested with the *tilak*. His brother Kinnar Singh founded Binaur ; a second brother, Gárab Deo, settled in Garab in parganah Bithúr ; and a third, Parasráam, in Perajor, in parganah Akbarpur. Hindu Singh was sixth in descent from Cháchák Deo ; his brother Jográj settled in Binaur, and his brother Hirde Singh in Panki, all three taking the title of Rája. The Rájas of Sachendi¹ and Binaur joined the rebels, and their estates were confiscated and bestowed on loyal subjects. The Rája of Panki has kept possession of only half of his ancestral estate, and that half is almost hopelessly burdened with debt ; but it has recently been placed under the charge of the Court of Wards with the hope of freeing it from the grasp of the money-lender. Thus of the once vast possessions of the Chandels covering nearly the four parganahs Shīnirájpur, Shidli, Bithúr, and Jájmau, only 125 entire villages remain, some of which have been re-purchased, and shares in others.

Gaur Rájputs claim the next place, and amongst them the Chamar-Gaur subdivision of the Bháradhvaj *got*, who occupy nearly the whole of the western portion of the district and own a larger area than even the Chandels. Here they give one out of several explanations of their origin current amongst the clan in different parts of these provinces which also seems to be the most popular. With many other clans of Rájputs they trace their origin to Garh Gajni, whence came their founder Rája Prithvi Deo to the court of Jaichand, Ráthor of Kanauj, whose daughter he married, and through her received the country around Kulpi and Karra-Mánikpur as dowry. During his raids on the Meos, Prithvi Deo saw and became enamoured of the daughter of the Meo Rája of Narba Kaser,² and in the good old fashion carried her off and married her. The Meos dissembled their wrath and invited the Gaurs and their principal leaders to a great feast, at which Prithvi Deo and his wives appeared. At a preconcerted signal the guests were attacked, and all, except the two Ránis, were slain. These both fled, and the Meo Ráni took refuge with a Brahman, and the Ráthorin, who was far advanced in pregnancy, with a Chamar ; hence the distinction between the two great subdivisions of the Bálman-Gaur and Chamar-Gaur. The latter, however, asserts its superiority as having Rájput blood on both sides in its veins. The other great subdivision is the Bhát-Gaur, but no tradition regarding them appears to exist here. The Chamar-Gaur sometimes explain the name as due to an ancestor named Rája Chaunhár, or that they were called after the sage Cháman, or after the *chawari* which their ancestor waved over his head in his flight to Lanka ; but all that can be

¹ Durgá Prasad, Rája of Sachendi, shot himself with a pistol rather than be arrested by a thanadar sent to take him on the re-occupation of the British in 1858.
² The old name or mound at Bahmanpur in parganah Akbarpur is called Kaser.

said is that the name undoubtedly connects them with the Chamárs, however much they may wish to disclaim the connection. The Gauras are one of the thirty-six royal clans mentioned by Tod; but his list of subdivisions is utterly unlike anything obtaining in these provinces; he gives Untáhir, Silhála, Túr, Dúsená, and Búdanu, and notes that continuous mention is made of Gauras in the accounts of the wars of the great Chauhán Prithviráj.

The local tradition goes on to say that the son of the Ráthorin was **Rasúlabad families.** Pathar Deo, who to avenge his father's death set to work to entirely extirpate the Meos. "He had seven sons, of whom Bhatak Deo, the eldest, received forty-two villages and settled in Makrandpur, and Dundan Deo occupied twenty-four villages and made Banipára his headquarters. Bachhráj, the third son, obtained twenty-four villages, of which Nár was the chief. These three places are in the Rasúlabad parganah; the other four sons settled in other parganahs of this district. Bajan Deo went to Nár in Akbárpur, Rásik Deo to Jhínghak in parganah Mangalpur-Derapur, Bulár Singh to Gahlon, and Roshan Deo to Bárhápur, both in Akbárpur. In Rasúlabad, Bachhráj, though not the eldest son, received the title of Rája. Though at first his estate included only twenty-four villages, he gradually extended his rule until he gained possession of fifty-six. These were, however, gradually distributed amongst the minor branches of the Rája's family, so that at the time of the cession to the British Government the Rája himself held only twenty-two villages. The junior branches of the family, with the title of Ráo or Ráwat, held smaller estates, five in number. The Salempur Mahera taluka, held with the title of Ráo, comprised thirteen villages. The Malgáon taluka, held by its Ráo, was composed of six villages, including Parjani in parganah Derapur. The Gajen taluka, consisting of eight villages, the Rasúl Ráwatgáon taluka of four villages, and the Káshipur taluka, lying in parganah Shiurájpur, but including two villages in Rasúlabad, were all three held without any special title.

Bhatak Deo, the eldest son, as has been observed, did not obtain the title of Rája. His descendant, however, acquired very considerable estates, and had four sons: Padam, otherwise called Surjan Deo, Soni Deo, Sámil Deo, and Sangal Deo. Padam Deo's chief village was Makrandpur Kainjari, to which were attached ten other villages. Soni Deo, the second son, obtained the taluka named after Málkanpurwa, its principal village, with twelve other villages. His estate was, however, subsequently

distributed amongst the sons of Padam Deo for some reason which is not known. Sámil Deo obtained the Samáun talúka, composed of six villages; and lastly, Sangal Deo inherited the Iteli ilaka, consisting of eight villages.

Dund Deo, the second son of Pathar Deo, had two sons, Ammar and Maháráj, between whom the Banipúra talúka was divided; nine villages only lie in pargana Rasúlabad, the remainder being situated in pargana Akbarpur and Derapur. Of the nine in pargana Rasúlabad seven fell to the lot of Ammar and two to Maháráj.

In Derapur, Rásik Deo settled in Jhínjhak with an appanage of twenty-four villages; his eldest son Bibdeo separated from the family, and obtaining the title of Rána settled in Bán, where three generations retained possession, after which the seat of authority was moved to Surási, where it remained for ten generations, when it was transferred to Mangalpur by Mánikchand, where

Descendants of Rásik Deo. nineteen generations have succeeded to the title. There were nominally twenty-four villages attached to this title, seventeen known as Susru (Aurangabad, &c.), seven as Mangalpur. The former were the share of two brothers, Sonsár Chand and Udaiya Chand, which they took when their brother Bahádur Chand moved to Surási. The most important representatives of this family are the Khánpur Thákurs, sons of one Kiunár Singh who did good service in the mutiny and was given the confiscated estates of the Nár Rája. The sons, too, by a system of borrowing money to purchase landed property, have acquired very great influence in pargana Rasúlabad, Derapur, and Sikandra; but with the exception of Gyán Singh, who has been made an honorary magistrate, have not a high reputation, although they have kept in with the authorities by judicious expenditure on girls' schools and the like. The family descended from Asís Deo, the second son of Rásik Deo, did not succeed in obtaining any position of importance in the district. One descendant indeed, Rám Singh, was given the office of Chaudhari in pargana Ghátampur, where his family still own some villages. The third son of Rásik Deo, Bháo Singh, was given the title of Ráwat of Bhindeman with twelve villages. From the fourteenth generation there have been two rival claimants to the title, owing to Tej Singh having married twice. The better title, however, is that of the descendant of Gohar Singh, who received the *tilak* from the head of the family, the Rája of Nár. But to such a depth of poverty is this family reduced that the only property now left to support the title is a plot of about four acres.

Horel Deo, fourth in descent from Bachhrāj, the Rāja of Nār, was given Aikāru and eleven other villages with the title of Rāwat; but the title was subsequently diverted to the representative of another family, and is supported by an allotment of five acres in Aikāru. The Gahlōn estate (24 villages) has entirely changed hands; the Bārhapur estate was transferred to Baniyas, and by them to an Aganbotri, from whom it was repurchased by a descendant of the old stock who had made some money by farming and selling his produce. The Nariha estate was, like so many estates in parganah Akbarpur, fraudulently taken possession of by Kbalil Khān, but recovered by the old family through the special commission; it is again, however, passing out of their hands. Of the large area originally under the territorial authority of the Gaurs there are now in their possession only 75 entire villages and portions of others. The fate of the Rāja of Nār is thus described by Mr. Evans:—"At the cession Daryāo Singh owned a very large number of villages in the parganah; the revenues imposed on him were so excessive that his villages were first farmed, and then sold up for arrears of revenue. Reduced to a state of comparative poverty, it is hardly to be wondered at that he did not remain faithful to the Government in 1857. He was hanged and his estates confiscated. The present representative of the family is the son of his younger brother, whose estate was not confiscated. He owns half in each of four villages which were assessed very lightly at last settlement." To assess them at half assumed assets would have involved a very heavy rise; and Mr. Evans therefore, subject to the sanction of Government, proposed a very lenient revenue, such as he could not have recommended under any other circumstances.

The Gautams are found in parganah Sārā Salempur, into which they spread from the pressure of increase of population from their original home at Argal in the Fatehpur district, turning out the Arakhs. The earliest date of their immigration into this district is given as only 450 years ago, when Bahrām Shāh settled in Biposi, subsequently known as Najafgarh. This estate was lost, but a subsequent immigration led to the founding of a subordinate *gaddi*, viz., that of the Rāo of Chilli (Chirālī) with 24 villages. This title, as attached to one person, soon became extinct, but is represented by the custom that all members of this sub-tribe retain the distinctive prefix of Rāo. Another settlement was made in the twelve villages near Siganpur, which were called Banpur from the jungle (*ban*) being cut by the settlers. At a later date Bahādur Singh, for his aid against the

Rehillas, was given 84 villages, and was appointed *amíl* of a large territory extending into *Súbah* Allahabad.

There are two settlements in this district of *Chauháns* of the *Bach got*, the one in *parganah* Akbarpur, the other in *Jáíman*, a branch of which emigrated to Narwal in *parganah* *Sárh*. The older immigration is that of *Khemráj*, a soldier of fortune and cadet of the Mainpuri family, who for his assistance in subjugating the Meos was given 36 villages. Their first settlement was at *Mobána*, but the *gaddi* with the title of *Ráo* was afterwards transferred to *Seontha*. The last holder of the title, *Ráo Pirdewan Singh*, died recently, after all the property attached to his rank had been stripped from him by money-lenders. The *Chauháns* are still a strong and fairly prosperous clan, but their property is being dissipated by mortgages and sales of small shares. The second settlement of *Chauháns* is that of *Ghansyám Singh*, who also claimed to be a cadet of the Mainpuri family, but who came after the beginning of the last century into this district, where he received from *Hindu Singh Chandel* the charge of 22 villages, principally wrested from the *Gautams*, of which *Rameipur* and *Narwal* were the chief. For a short time *Ghansyám Singh* was entrusted with the collection of revenue amounting to Rs. 96,000 a year under the emperor, and maintained a standing force which he lodged in 32 forts, traces of many of which may still be seen. At our first settlement the then *Rája*, *Sirnet Singh*, thought the risk of property under our Government not sufficiently alluring, and refused the settlement, but petitioned again at the third settlement, when the collateral branch of *Narwal* claimed a division and obtained a decree. The title of *Rája* was also attached to this estate. The *Rameipur* branch soon lost the whole of their property, and the *Narwal* branch is deeply in debt, but still keep their heads above water, chiefly through the aid of that "friend of *Rájas*," *Chauhe Sidhári Lál*. The last three *Rájas*, however, having died within a few months of each other, the present representative considers it unlucky to assume the title.

The origin of the *Báis* (*Bháradvaj got*) *rájdháni* in *Daundia Khora* is well known. From thence three waves of emigration have settled in this district: (1) at *Tilsahri* in *parganah* *Sálemipur*; (2) at *Fatehpur Roshnai* in *parganah* *Akbarpur*; (3) at *Patára* in *parganah* *Ghátampur*. The *Tilsahri* family spread over the entire *parganah* *Sálemipur* and into *Jáíman*, ~~owning~~ originally 89 villages. The second came under *Birmánand* and defeated the *Gaurs* at the old *Meo Khora Kasru* of *Rahniapur* in *parganah* *Akbarpur*, and established themselves in twelve villages. The most notable person of this branch is *Bhupál Singh* of *Disaipur*.

The last body of immigrants ejected a tribe of Kat-baises for recusancy in paying their revenue, and took possession of what were nominally twenty-four villages, most of which they still retain.

The Gaharwár clan of the Bháradhvaj *got* occupy the southern portion of parganah Bilhaur, and the account given of their settlement is as follows:—After the flight of Mánik Chand, younger brother of Jaichand Ráthor, Rájá of Kanauj, on the defeat of the latter at Kanauj and of Mánik Chand¹ at Karra Mánikpur, his sons made their way to the Vindhya mountains near Mirzapur, whence one son settled in Orchha, and the youngest returned to Aurangpur Sámghi, and ousting the Ujena Thákurs who were in possession, established a *rāj* at Sengh, to which were attached twenty-eight villages (seven across the Ganges), and a cadet branch with the title of Ráo at Madára Rái, with seventeen other villages. During the oppressions of the Oudh rule the latter branch became extinct, and only nine villages remained in the hands of the Sengh Rájá. The late Rájá, Bhawáni Singh, was an adopted heir from that branch of the family which had settled across the Ganges, and owing to his lunacy, which threw the estate into the power of his two widows, women of no high moral character, even these have been in danger of transfer; but the estate is now in charge of the Court of Wards, and may be saved for the young occupant of the *gaddi*, Takht Singh.

The Ujena or Ujayyini Rájputs of the Sombansi *got* carry the date of their first settlement back to the arrival from Ujain of Sursáh Panwár by invitation of his relation Jaichand of Kanauj, who invested him with the title of Rájá of the Ujayyinis. Their first establishment was at Ankin. Subsequently settlements were made in Mariáni, Bhituri, and Kákupur in parganah Shiurájpur. Of the villages originally owned by them they now hold only two.

Gahlots of the Gobhit *got* occupied the northern portion of parganah Rasúlábád, adjacent to the Farukhabad district, where also this tribe held large tracts of country, whence they had expelled the Meos. Mr. Evans gives their history as connected with this district as follows:—“They tell the same story as is current in that district, how Govind Ráo settled under the patronage of Jaichand of Kanauj, and how his

¹ For an attempted solution of the relation of Gaharwárs to Rathors, I refer to *Asiatic Researches*, Elliot, I, 121. The fanciful derivation given to the name here is “out of house and home” (*ghar báhar*), referring to the flight of the tribe after the destruction of Kanauj. The family history, calls Jaichand Ráthor a Gaharwár. See further local history of the Farukhabad and Mirzapur districts.

territory was divided between the two lines descended from Ās and Hamír, two brothers, sons of one Nár Singh Bhán, in the fourth generation from Govind Ráo. Ās obtained twenty-five and Hamír thirty-three villages in parganah Rasúlábád. The descendants of Ās now hold no entire village. They have lost eleven entire villages, and now hold but portions of the remaining fourteen. The other line still have possession of five entire villages and portions of five others, but have wholly lost the remaining twenty-three. The Gahlots have also preserved their pedigrees. The descendants of Ās show from sixteen to twenty-five generations from Govind Ráo, while those of Hamír have pedigrees giving fifteen to twenty-two generations down to the present representatives." ¹

There have been four settlements of Panwars of the Vasisht got in the district. The one that settled in Bilhaur was subsequently known by the name of Ujayyinis. The story runs that in the fifteenth century Kuber Singh from Dháranagar in Ujain stopped near the Deojáni tank at Umargarh (now known as Musánagar in parganah Bhognipur) for the purpose of performing his midday devotions, and being pleased with the place, settled there. The fourth in descent from him, Pulandar Sáh, settled in Pulandar, where he acquired an estate of twelve villages. From him two branches sprang, one of which obtained the title of Rája of Gilauli from Nawáb Munír-ad-daula of Lucknow one hundred and fifty years ago. This family still exists, but is reduced to poverty. The Panwars of Katra Makrandpur in parganah Ghátampur also derive their origin from the same source. They say that Kunwar Bágdeo of Dháranagar, some five hundred years ago, married into the family of the Karchúli Rája of Hamírpur, and was given twelve villages, of which four are still in the possession of the family.² A third family settled in Amoli in the reign of Akbar, headed by two Risáldárs, Singh Man and Naráyan Dás, whose troops becoming for some fancied slight to their religion disaffected, were transferred to these parts, and camped where there was good grazing for their horses in Amoli, from which site they populated Dohru and Kohra. The three families are entirely separate and have no mutual intercourse of any sort.

In addition to the above Rájput settlements we have Dikhits in Ghátampur, Sisodhias in Ahraulighát in parganah Bhognipur, and Other Rájputs, Janwars in Bagdodi Pem and Karsauli (old) in parganah

¹ The Gahlots turned out the Gaur in the western villages of parganah Bilhaur, where their territory acquired an unenviable notoriety, which gave rise to the name. Two or three harvests—kharif, rabi, and plunder.

² See Gaz, I., 418.

Bithúr, and Sengars, Bhadauriyas, Karchúlis, Parihárs, and Sombansis also scattered over the district.

On several occasions Rájput landowners who were behindhand with their revenue have been compelled to embrace Muham-
 Nau-muslims. madanism. Thus we have the Chauliáns of parganah Akbarpur converted by Alamgír, and the Chandols of the same parganah converted by the Bangash Nawáb of Farukhabad. One branch of the Dikhit family also in Ghátampur is Muñammadan in obedience to the vow of Ghátamdeo when praying for a son at the shrine of Madár Suáh. The customs of these Nau-muslims as they are called are a curious mixture of the Hindu and Musalmán, as they intermarry only with Thákurs similarly circumstanced, maintaining the relative precedence of castes as amongst Thákurs, and being generally called by well known Hindu names. But their dead are buried, they are married by the Kúzi, and they observe Muhamnadan customs at birth, marriage, and death. They cannot, as a rule, recite the prayers (*namáz parhna*), but they perform the orthodox obeisances (*sijda*). At the same time they worship Chachak Devi to avert small-pox, and keep up their friendly intercourse with their old caste brethren in domestic occurrences; eating, however, separately.

The third great Hindu division is represented principally by the Dhúsar
 Baniyas. (14,124), Ummar (7,394), and Agarwái (4,868) subdivisions. Besides there are the Ajudhiya Bási (1,797), Jamaniya (1,765), Derhummar (1,497), Parwal (1,818), and other minor subdivisions regarding whom very little worth recording is really known. The Parwáls or Parwárs are partly of the Hindu and partly of the Jaina religion. The Dhúsars trace their origin to Dehli, and are widely scattered all over these provinces. They are remarkable for taking to the profession of arms, and are found in almost every occupation, in addition to shopkeeping. They derive their name from a sacred place named Dhúai in the Dakhin, which I have not been able to identify. The Kasarwánis are more numerous further south, and are divided into three great branches, the Kashmíri, Purbiya, and Allahábádi. The Ummars, too, have three divisions, the Til-Ummar, Desh-Ummar, which is usually given separately in the census records, and the Dusre. Much has yet to be done before we can attain to an understanding of the subtle differences of caste, and I would strongly recommend this branch of inquiry as almost a virgin field to those who have the leisure and the taste for its prosecution.

Other castes.

The principal of the remaining castes are shown in the following table :—

Name of caste.	Number.	Name of caste.	Number.
Ahīr ...	113,053	Khākrober Bhangi ...	7,184
Bahelīa ...	1,896	Khatk ...	6,537
Barhai ...	10,851	Khattī ...	2,174
Bāri ...	2,911	Kori ...	39,652
Bhetbhūnja ...	10,604	Kumhār ...	12,308
Bhāī ...	5,903	Kurmi ...	58,359
Chamār ...	122,932	Lodha ...	40,783
Darzi ...	5,068	Lohā ...	18,106
Dhānak ...	16,883	Mālī ...	6,339
Dhobi ...	11,844	Mallāh ...	11,850
Dhūna or Kundera ...	2,672	Nunera ...	3,224
Gadariya ...	42,053	Pās ...	5,786
Hajām ...	25,516	Sonār ...	7,631
Halwāī ...	4,107	Tamoli ...	5,015
Joiśhi ...	5,012	Tel ...	27,443
Kāchlu ...	47,810	Goshām ...	1,810
Kahār or Dhīmar ...	16,083	Bhar ...	1,248
Kalwār ...	10,002	Parabiā ...	4,870
Kāyath ...	15,169	Miscellaneous ...	18,920
		Total ...	752,508

The Chamārs are for the most part numerous, and indeed form the bulk of the labouring population and ten per cent. of the cultivators.

Chamārs.

In the village they are called *yāunkāma*, and for some privileges of the gleanings of the harvest field or the sweepings of the threshing-floor do all the work of the zamindār, fetching, carrying, ploughing, irrigating, &c. In towns they are masons, road-paviors, and porters. Content with the minimum of food and clothing, they can hardly as a mass be said to be removed more than one degree from starvation, unless where demand for labour, as for lifting canal water, or in Cawnpore itself as porters, puts them in comparatively easy circumstances.

The Ahīrs and Garariyas are pioneers of civilization. Their hamlets are

Ahīrs.

found on the outskirts of villages where the neighbouring jungle or ravines afford them grazing for their herds. The fact that they have a large command of manure enables them to pay better rents and raise better crops than their method of cultivation, which is broad and careless, would lead one to expect. The Ahīr is the cowherd of his village. Non-agriculturists pay an Ahīr eight annas a year for a buffalo and four annas for a cow to take them out to the lot to graze. Every day the *gwāla* milks a buffalo he gets a *chāp* and one every other day for a cow. Similarly the Garariya gets two annas a year for each goat in his charge.

Cattle and sheep are sent from Cawnpore to the ravines of the Jumna for grazing in the hot and rainy months, on payment of a small fee to the zamindár. Here and there Ahírs have risen or are rising to the position of proprietors. In the south of Akbarpur, along the banks of the Sengur, they were left, we may infer, in undisturbed possession of that uninviting tract by the immigrating hordes of Thákurs. Generally speaking, this class of cultivator is fairly well off and removed from want. Ahírs form fourteen per cent. of the cultivating community, and Garariyas five per cent.

Kurmís are the backbone of the agricultural community. Sound industrious cultivators, they work themselves with every member of their families in the field from morning to night. They raise crops even in dry tracts equal almost to those of irrigated land, and pay better rents than any class except Káchhis; whilst where irrigation is plentiful their cultivation rivals that of the Káchhi, and they grow vegetables, especially the potato, cane, and the finest wheat. The Kurmi thoroughly understands the value of manure and dresses his entire holding at least every third year. Kurmís derive their origin almost universally from Kanauj, and are chiefly located in Bilhaur, along and to the north of the Isan, and in Shiurájpur to the north of the Non river; in Bhognipur along the north, and in Ghátampur in the north-west and south-east. They have been proprietors, but, except in individual instances, such as Chiranji Lál of Shiurájpur, Debi Dín of Bilhaur, and Bihári Lál of Ghátampur, their character makes them better cultivators than proprietors. The abovenamed have by money-lending, the manufacture of indigo, and loyalty to Government in the mutiny raised themselves to a very high position amongst proprietors. The Kurmi cultivator is rarely poor, and generally in comfortable circumstances, and forms eight per cent. of the entire class. Of the date of their settlement in Bilhaur Mr. Buck says that he is unable to discover any trace, but he puts it subsequent to the immigrations of the Thákurs and Maliks, as he says the tract on the banks of the Isan is such poor dry sandy country that it was along this, and especially along the north bank, that the Kurmís pushed their way, assuming the position of proprietors on the poor sandy land, and supplying the richer villages in the *dímat* tracts with a large number of cultivators. In Ghátampur the Chaudhri family of Baripál have long held a high position for respectability and loyalty. The head of the family, Bihári Singh, was made a tahsildár during the mutiny, and for his good service was given a valuable estate in parganah Shiurájpur and invested with powers as an honorary magistrate. The other settlements have been made at various times. Their origin is

chiefly referred back to Kanauj, and the settlers are said to have found their way to this country with armies to which they were attached as aids in the commissariat arrangements. Their importance now, however, is chiefly as agriculturists. Many Kurmis belong to the Jhamaiya sect, the local account¹ of which is as follows: "Some five hundred years ago, a fakir, Shaikh Jhama, who is also known as Makhdum Jahana Jahangasht, attracted individuals of several castes, such as Baniyas, Ahirs, Kurmis, &c., as his followers; and as these partook of his food, they were expelled from their own caste and became known as Jhamaiyas. Many of their customs are more nearly connected with those of the Musalmans than with those of the Hindús. Thus, until about seventy years ago, they buried their dead instead of burning them, and to them are attributed certain mosques in the district. They will not eat food cooked even by Brahmans, and marry entirely amongst themselves, having regard only to nearness of relationship. There is a shrine dedicated to one of their holy men at Maswánpur in parganah Jájman, where he is worshipped, more, it is said, with Musalmán than with Hindu observances. Like the Meos of Sikandra, the Jhamaiyas are very reticent as to their religious observances and the origin of their peculiar customs."

* The Káchhis or Muráos are the market gardening class. Found wherever a large amount of available manure or demand for vegetables attracts them, they take up the immediate precincts of the village, divide it into minute holdings, to which they add some outlying land for fodder for their plough cattle, and afford a ready test of the prosperity of a village. They are the first to leave a village when the wells fall in, advances are not forthcoming, or a rack-renting landlord makes the margin of profit on their never-ceasing industry too narrow to induce them to stay. The Káchhi is rarely rich, but his value as a cultivator always makes him independent of season, and he need never starve. In the southern parganahs every landlord who has a masonry well tries to induce a Káchhi family to settle, and they now form six per cent. of the cultivating class.

Lodhás are chiefly found in parganahs Rasúlabad and Jájman. They are good cultivators, not equal to the Kurmi, though a little better than the Ahir and Garariya. They must have water, and in canal irrigated tracts therefore will always be able to support themselves. They do not appear as proprietors. Though a small share was settled with them as mukaddams in Shiurájpur, they were unable to keep it.

¹ For the origin of the sect, see Etawa, see Gametieer, IV., 250.

Malláhs, or Kewats as they are generally called, are found chiefly in the villages on the Jumna. Their true occupation is that of boatmen, but urged probably by the pressure of increased numbers they cultivate largely where found; not well, it is true, but with a speciality for growing brinjáls on the sandy banks of the Jumna.

The Barei or Tamoli (Barei properly indicates the grower, Tamoli the seller of the *pán* leaf), are most numerous in Shiurájpur. As is well known, they are the growers of the indispensable *pán* leaf (*Piper betel*). Some account of the cultivation of this plant has been given on a previous page.

The oldest family of Káyáths in the district is that of Teonga in parganah Bhognipur, which dates from the appointment of Tának Singh, whose father had been diwán to Rája Lahria the Meo, as manager of the country won from the Meos by Malik Sádhan, an officer of Ala-ud-dín Khilji, five hundred and fifty years ago. His descendant Kírat Singh, in the reign of Sháhjahán, was appointed kanúngo and chaudhri of the parganah with Akorhi as *nánkár*. Bahlol Khán divided the office of kanúngo between the three branches of the family, one of which, that of Láhar Mal, ejected Gújars from Kándhi and settled there; the second, originally settling at Khartala, removed subsequently to Sathra; the third is the great Teonga branch, which subsequently divided into minor branches, Arhariamau, Girdhar-pur, Sháhpur, and Khalla, and the main branch of which became extinct in the mutiny, when its remaining property was confiscated for rebellion.¹

The Káyáths of Goháni in parganah Sikandra date from the time of Akbar, who gave them two villages for putting down robbers who infested the country, as well as the titles of chaudhri and kanúngo of Biláspur, with the management of fourteen villages, which were afterwards settled with them as proprietors. They lost the title of chaudhri in the time of Almás Ali Khán, and say that they lost the office of kanúngo for inability to pass an examination in 1846. The Káyáths of Derapur were originally kanúngos in the reign of Akbar, and acquired large property, to which they added considerably in the time of Almás Ali Khán, in whose office one of them was diwán; at the cession many estates were settled with them as proprietors or farmers. The Káyáth family of Bhádras in parganah Ghátampur was once powerful, and the office of kanúngo was their prerogative, with Bhádras as *nánkár*. Another family which claims the title of Ráo has

¹ The history of Sarúp Singh, the most notorious personage in the family, is given in the Gazetteer under Teonga.

still a few villages left (Benda, Pára, &c.); its origin is, however, of recent date.

The Musalmáns number only 89,215 souls (42,560 females), or 7·8 per cent. of the entire population. They are distributed amongst Shaikhs (64,797), Sayyids (5,951), Mughals (1,631), Patháns (16,801), and others unclassified. They form but a small proportion of the agricultural body and are the worst cultivators in the district. Villages in which Musalmáns are most numerous can easily be recognized by the wretched crops and the unchecked growth of the jungle products, *kána*, *khus*, and *júra*. There are, however, individuals who are large landed proprietors and whose families chiefly date from the time when Oudh was an independent kingdom, and it was thought wise to invest in land in the British provinces as a refuge in time of need. The older families are, however, decaying, as might be expected where no check is placed on population, and apathy, if not actual hatred, forbids the younger members from joining in the struggle for life into which other classes now freely plunge. The Musalmáns are found at the head of society, as well as amongst the lowest dregs of the population. The educated and well-to-do are true gentlemen, whilst the lower classes surpass in vileness the scum of a Levantine city. Hindús never descend to such a depth of physical and moral degradation as is to be found amongst the lowest class Musalmáns in Cawnpore city. Although the entire district has been subjected in turn to the various dynasties which ruled at Dehli, there have been few settlements of Musalmáns. The principal family is that of Bárah in parganah Akbarpur, which ascribes its origin to one Kutb Beg, a soldier of fortune, who came here in 1150 A.D. to chastise the Meos, and received a grant of sixteen villages in reward for his services. His descendants attained to considerable influence in the last century under the Oudh governor, Almás Ali Khán, and their position in the parganah, or one may say in the district, was the cause of much of the injury done to the old proprietors at our first settlements after the cession. Another family dating from the time of Shaháb-ud-din Ghori settled at Bewain Bhojpur, where they occupied ten villages.

The Patháns of Derapur trace their origin to Khudádád Khán, an officer in Akbar's army, placed there to keep order in the district, and who was given a *chaurási* or eighty-four villages and the title of *chaudhrí*. Little of the property is left in the family, which is poor and decaying.

Of the purely urban population the most notable are the descendants of Metumad-daulah, known also as Aga Mir, minister of Oudh minister. Nasir-ud-din Haidar, king of Oudh, who losing his post

retired in 1830 A.D. to Cawnpore with that portion of the interest of the loan of one krórê of rupèes lent by Ghâzi-ud-din Haidar to the East India Company which had been assigned to him as follows :—

	Rs.
Motunad-daulah	20,000
Nawâb Bahâ Begam, his wife	2,000
Nawâb Aliya Begam, his daughter	1,000
Nawâb Amîn-ud-daulah, his eldest son	2,000

He settled himself finally in Gwâltoli, and on his death in 1833 A.D. the pension was allotted as follows :—

	Rs.
Amin-ud-daulah, whose sons now live in Lucknow	6,500
Nawâb Nizâm-ud-daulah	4,500
Nawâb Bâkir Ali Khân	4,500
Nawâb Muhammad Ali Khân, known as the Nanhe (or little) Nawâb	4,500
Nawâb Dulah Sahib, son-in-law	2,000

Of the first four, Nizâm-ud-daulah has sunk into great poverty through lavish expenditure. Bâkir Ali died in 1874, leaving two sons, Sayyid Ali Khân and Jâfir Ali Khân. The father was a careful man and left his sons well off, but they have commenced the life of spendthrifts. The Nanhe Nawâb became notorious in the mutiny when the Muhammadan section of the rebels wished to make him king in opposition to the Nâna. His house was looted and himself made a prisoner for some days by the Nâna, but he would appear (under compulsion, his friends say) to have taken an active part in the siege of the entrenchments, commanding a battery and firing with his own hands the shot that lit the thatched roof of the contre barrack. Though cleared by a court of enquiry, he left for Mekka in 1861, where he died, and his house has since been bought by Gûr Parshâd.

The descendants of the notorious Diwân Nâsir Ali also reside in Cawnpore, where he built a very fine house with halls, fountains, &c., now falling into decay; through their spendthrift habits and disgraceful neglect, the fine estate which they acquired at so nominal a price is passing away to their creditors.

The native Christian population given in the census returns includes the children in the orphanage at Gutcha, near Cawnpore, belonging to the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts. The Society has a church and four schools in Cawnpore, and maintains two missionaries, priests of the Church of England, and twenty-eight teachers. Among its disciples it numbers 149 adults and 38 children.

There is a considerable European and Eurasian population in Cawnpore.

Others than Asiatics. The former comprises the official staff, professional men, merchants, bankers, mill managers, &c. The latter, clerks in the Government and other offices, and numbers whose employment is unascertainable, and whose very existence is unknown to others than the minister of religion and the doctor. They chiefly profess other tenets than those of the Church of England. With one exception, neither class owns landed property in the district, though in pre-mutiny days large estates were held by Messrs. Maxwell, Vincent, and others, indigo-planters in the palmy days of that occupation.

Religion. It is said there are one hundred members of the Wahábi sect of Musalmáns in Cawnpore, but whether amongst them are included the sympathisers with the sect, or those only who practise the precepts of the founder, I have no means of ascertaining. There are no other conspicuous sects of Muhammadans in the district which fairly represent the ordinary proportion between the great Shiah and Sunni divisions common to all Upper India. There are some forty followers of the Brahmo-Samáj, nearly all of whom are natives of Bengal. The system does not seem to commend itself to the natives of these provinces.

As elsewhere, Vishnu and Shiva are under various names and incarnations the gods chiefly worshipped by Hindús. It is usual to assert that the third member of the Hindu trinity, Brahma, has no votaries; and if this means that no temples or adorers are now dedicated solely to his worship, the statement is true. But that his worship is not extinct this district affords a proof. The god is said to have celebrated his completion of creation by a horse-sacrifice at the Brahmávartha ghát of Bithúr. A nail of his shoe is still embedded in one of the steps of the landing-place, and is still the object of devout homage; while as winter returns the sacred place becomes the scene of a fair where worship and wares, bathing and bartering, are strangely mixed.¹

Some of the principal Vaishnava sects, as, for instance, the followers of Ramanand and Kabír, have been already described.² The subject will be continued here with some account of the Dádu Panthis; but it should be borne in mind that the tenets of such sects are "caviare to the general," and that the ordinary Hindu, as becomes a person

¹ Wilson's Religious Sects of the Hindús, edited by Rost, Vol. I., p. 18. The fair is held on the full moon of Aghan (November, December). ² See Gazetteer, IV., 290, 562.

who can neither read nor write, is content with a more superstitious and less philosophical form of faith.

The Dádu Panthís are the followers of Dálu, a saint who flourished about the beginning of the seventeenth century. He is said to have been the sixth in descent from Ramánand, and fifth from Kabír. A cotton-cleaner (*dhuniya*) by hereditary calling, he was born at Ahmadabad in Gujarát, and for some time practised the trade of his fathers. But a voice from heaven admonished him to adopt a religious life, and turning hermit, he retired to the hills of Ajmer, where he disappeared, or, according to his followers, was absorbed into the deity. Dálu Panthís are most numerous in Rájputána. They maintain a friendly intercourse with the followers of Kabír; and indeed many of the Kabír writings have been inserted in the *Bhásba* scriptures, which contain the teachings of their sect. Their liturgy is extremely simple, being confined to a repetition of the name of Ráma, an incarnation of Vishnu.¹ The Dálu Panthís are severely iconoclastic, and reject not only images, but even temples. They have no peculiar frontal mark, but carry a rosary, and when they wear any head-dress at all, are distinguished by a kind of skull-cap, which each man manufactures for himself. Their dead are burnt at dawn, but some ascetic members of the fraternity direct that their bodies shall be exposed in a wilderness, to be devoured by birds and beasts of prey. The latter proceeding is somewhat analogous to the Pársi practice, and is defended by the argument that the fire of a pile is apt to destroy insect life, a proposition which in the case of the dirtier brothers has undoubtedly a good deal of truth. Like some other Hindu sects, the Dálu Panthís are divided into three principal classes—the ascetic (*virakta*), military (*nága*), and civilian (*vistardhári*). The first class go bare-headed, limiting their clothing to one garment, and their furniture to one water-pot; the second make good soldiers, and are largely employed in that capacity by the princes of Rájputána; and the third adopt the vocations and habits of ordinary life.

The Bábálálís resemble Dálu Panthís in being followers of a southern saint, and in maintaining some outward show of Vaishnava ceremonial. They profess veneration for Ráma, and streak their foreheads with the white earth known as *gopíchandana*. But they are in reality worshippers of one God, the Omnipotent Being of all religions; and in their faith the Vedánta school of Hindu philosophy blends its

¹ This process is called *jaṇ*. See Wilson's *Religious Sects* (p. 106), a work upon which these sketches are mainly based.

doctrines with the transcendental teachings of the Muslim Sūfīs. Their prophet Bābālāl, a member of the Kshatriya or military caste, was born in Mālwa during the reign of Jahāngīr (1605-1627). One day a holy man named Chetana Swāmi came to his door, and begging for alms, received from Bābālāl some raw rice, and wood wherewith to cook it. Confining the fire between his feet as within a grate, and supporting the cooking-pan on his insteps, Chetana proceeded to boil the grain. His host observed with astonishment that his feet were unscorched by the fire, and prostrated himself with reverence before so miracle-working a man. Chetana now gave Bābālāl a grain of the boiled rice, and immediately after eating it the latter found the scheme of the universe unfolded before his dazzled mind. Thus inspired, Bābālāl obtained the power of working miracles and became the founder of a sect. Settling after some wanderings near Sirhind, he made in 1649 the acquaintance of prince Dāra Shikoh, eldest son of Shāhjahān (1627-1658); and a Persian work called the Nādir-un-nikāt reports their dialogues on the duties of ascetic life.

While agreeing with the Bābālālīs in their Unitarian leanings, the Sādhs differ from that sect by renouncing even the semblance of homage to Vishnu. Sādhs worship one immortal Creator, and but for the fact that they acknowledge the transient existence of inferior deities, and hope by their devotions to obtain liberation from life on earth, could hardly be considered Hindūs at all. From the title they bestow on the deity, *satnām* or the true name, they are sometimes called *Satnāmīs*; but this is also the name of a separate though kindred sect. To their own appellation Sādhs, which means pure or Puritan, they deem themselves entitled by the superior purity of their observances. The creed was originated in 1658 by one Bīrbhān, an inhabitant of Brijbasīr near Nārnaul. He professed to derive his knowledge from the *Sat Guru*, i.e., the true instructor, otherwise referred to as the *Mālik ka hukm*, or personified word of God. The injunctions of his superhuman teacher, which were communicated in detached Hindi stanzas like those of Kabīr, have in a primer (*Adi Upadesh*) of the sect been codified into twelve commandments, and a few extracts will suffice to show that the compiler of this tract, if not Bīrbhān himself, was probably acquainted with the Jewish and Christian Decalogue:—

- " 1. Acknowledge but one God who can make and destroy thee; to whom there is none superior, and to whom alone therefore worship is due, not to earth, nor stone, nor metal, nor wood, nor trees, nor any created thing. 2. Bow not down thy head in the presence of idols.
- " 3. Steal not either wealth or land, or beasts, or pasture. 5. Never covet anything.
- " 9. Take no life away, nor give damnable evidence.
- " 10. Let a man wed one wife, and a woman one husband."

The Sādhs belong mostly to the lower classes, and are to be found throughout the North-West Provinces. They have no temples, but assembling together at stated periods in a house set apart for the purpose spend the day, men and women together, in general conversation. A common supper in the evening is followed by recitations from the psalms of Bīrbhān, Kabīr, Dādu, or similar teachers.

The occupations of the non-agricultural classes are shown as follows in the census returns of 1872. The whole population was divided into six classes, the fourth of which related to the agricultural class. The first, or professional class, embraces all Government servants and persons following the learned professions, literature, the arts and sciences, and numbered 1,864 male adults (above fifteen years of age), amongst whom are included 92 *purohīts* or family priests, 143 pandits, and 558 musicians, &c. The second class numbers 50,510 members, and comprised all males engaged in domestic service, such as washermen (3,928), personal servants (38,153), water-carriers (361), barbers (7,325), sweepers (356), and innkeepers (353). The third class represents commerce, and numbered 11,537 males, amongst whom are all persons who buy or sell, keep or lend money and goods of various kinds, as shopkeepers (1,008), money-lenders (412), bankers (95), and brokers (521); and all persons engaged in the conveyance of men and animals or goods, as pack carriers (15), ekka and cart drivers (2,421), &c. The fifth class, containing 63,128 members, includes all persons engaged in the industrial arts and mechanics, such as painters (303), saddlers (128), stool-makers (179), masons (212), and carpenters (3,136); those engaged in the manufacture of textile fabrics, weavers (10,476), tailors (3,597), and cotton cleaners (563); and those engaged in preparing articles of food and drink, as grain-parchers (2,289), and confectioners (1,090), as well as dealers in animal, vegetable, or mineral substances, as tanners (1,055), oil-sellers (2,556), oil-makers (1,254). The sixth class contains 83,591 members, including labourers (73,821), beggars (6,398), and 3,295 persons supported by the community and of no specified occupation. Mr. Wright considers the details of the census returns of 1872 to be erroneous in the classification adopted, but I think they may be accepted as a whole as the best estimate we possess of the relative importance and numbers of the two great classes of agriculturists and non-agriculturists.

The following statement gives the number of enclosures and houses built with skilled and unskilled labour from the census of

Habitations.	1872
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	Hindús.	Musalmáns.	Christians.	Total.
Number of enclosures ...	168,538	3,648	84	182,220
Number of houses built with skilled labour ...	50,789	5,925	45	56,759
Number of houses built with unskilled labour ...	186,112	27,817	44	215,473
Total number of houses ...	238,901	33,242	89	272,232

The percentage of inhabitants of the houses of the better sort on the total population is 21.9. The average number of enclosures per square mile is 78, and of persons per enclosure is 6, whilst the average number of houses per square mile is 116, and of persons per house is 4.2. The houses of the lower classes are generally built of clay, laid on when moist in row after row. It is then allowed to dry and is roofed in with grass or earth. The *gándar* and *tini* grasses which are found in jhils are generally used, as the *káns* rot quickly when exposed to moisture. When an earthen roof is made the rafters are usually of *nám*, as bambús are expensive, and over them are placed bundles of stalks of the *arhar* or of the castor-bean plant, on which the earth is placed and beaten down with wooden mallets. Tiled roofs are uncommon in the villages, though common in towns and in Cawnpore city itself; thatched roofs have now been prohibited, and 'the eldest inhabitant' is fond of relating how such and such a Collector Sahib converted thatched into tiled roofs, ending with a description of the latter giving way to "pukka" roofs under the vigorous administration of Mr. W. Halsey. The better classes in the villages build their houses of sun-dried bricks, roofed with a terrace of clay, and sometimes containing an upper room. Brick houses occur chiefly in towns, and are generally constructed of kiln-made bricks set in clay, with an outward coat of mortar made up of lime and pounded brick plaster as a protection from the weather. Houses of two or three stories built in this way are not uncommon. Houses inhabited by natives are usually built round an inner court, on to which the doors and

windows, where there are any, generally open. In large houses windows are often found in the upper stories which open outwards, as at such a height from the ground the rooms are not overlooked from elsewhere.

There are three well known temples or mandirs in this district, one at
 Temples. Banipára Maháráj in the Rasulabad parganah, dedicated to

Mahádeo and the rites of Shiva. On the 14th day of the dark half of the month of Phágun, corresponding to the month of February, and called Shiurátri, a religious gathering or melá lasting fifteen days takes place at this temple, where some traffic is done by pedlars and shopkeepers from the country round. The temple is of great age and is reckoned among the *pará-chini* or most ancient buildings. The image in the temple is believed by the Hindús to have been placed there by Banásur, a Rákshasa, who flourished in the *treia yug* or third cycle of their mythology. Another temple, Khereshur, in Chhatarpur, a village half a mile from the Ganges and 1½ miles from the town of Shiurájpur, is also dedicated to Mahádeo, and a religious gathering in connection with the Shiurátri festival takes place there also in Phágun. This temple is also styled *paráchini*. The country people believe that although the temple be swept out at night and the door locked, when it is opened in the morning rice or flowers are found to have been placed before the image in a miraculous manner. A third temple, also styled *paráchini*, exists in the village of Nigohi, in parganah Bhognipur, on the banks of the river Sengar, called Durbásha Rikh, from a fakír who flourished in the *dwápar yug*. A tradition connects the fakír with Sri Krishna, whose death is believed to have been the result of a curse bestowed on him by the fakír. A fair is held at this temple, on the full moon of the month of Kártik, corresponding to November. A very old temple may also be seen at Bhadwára in parganah Ghátampur. In the same parganah and close to the principal town is the handsome *math* built by the Gesháin Bálbhadrgír. At a distance its pinnacles appearing above the surrounding trees call up some remembrance of a cathedral spire, and form a picturesque feature in the landscape. The income of the village of Naráyanpur, held revenue-free for that purpose, is devoted to its repair.

At Makanpur there is a 'dargáh' within which is the tomb of the saint Badr-ud-din Sháh Madár, and a mosque built by the Emperor Alamgír. The saint replied from his tomb to the emperor's greeting, and rejected his offer of a marble tomb as he stated himself to be alive. The tradition that the saint is alive in his tomb is probably much older than Alamgír's time.¹ In Gajner there is a mosque built in memory of the great Sayyid Salár Masáúd Gházi;

¹ See further Beames' Elliot, I., 247f.

regarding whom so little is known by his worshippers that they say he lived but three hundred years ago, that he was an ascetic at whose arrival in Gajner a withered *pīpal* tree burst out into leaf,¹ and that his disciples buried his body at this place and erected the mosque. A fair is held here on the first Saturday in Jeth, at which cattle are collected in large quantities for sale. At Māwar, where the Kālpi road crosses the Sengur, is a somewhat famous '*dargāh*' for the support of which the estate was formerly held revenue-free. It has now been assessed to revenue, and the building is kept in repair only by the offerings of the faithful.

Questions and disputes of a domestic nature or affecting the social arrangements of classes and castes, disputes regarding petty debts or the occupancy of lands for tillage, are adjudicated on by pancháyats. A *mukhia* or chaudhri, as a representative man, is generally appointed by the chief persons of each trade, class, or caste residing in a town or cluster of villages. These men assemble a pancháyat of the brotherhood when any such question comes before them for decision. An authority to inflict fines by compelling a delinquent to spend a sum of money on feeding his brotherhood is conceded to them. They decide with the help of a pancháyat when a man should be put out of caste, and the terms of his re-admission. Among the lower classes these mukhias or chaudhris have great authority. In India the social life of individuals is very interdependent. The conditions of society at some time or another frequently bring the domestic concerns of every man into unavoidable contrast with those of his neighbour. The exclusiveness and privacy of individual life as it exists in Europe is not known among the Hindús, and it follows that the lower a man of respectability is in the social scale, the less is he able to set the good opinion of his neighbours at defiance, and the more amenable he becomes to the authority of the pancháyat. The better class of people being independent in their means are beyond the reach of this influence, and are able to indulge in the luxury of litigation for the settlement of their disputes. Every trade has also its chaudhri, who takes a small fee on all business or bargains contracted with his assistance. His position is voluntarily conceded, and as the use of the office, under existing circumstances, is often merely nominal, it may be regarded as the relic of a state of society similar to that of the middle ages in Europe, when the members of each trade found their best protection in uniting into one body under the management of a guild with recognized office-bearers to support their interests against attacks from all quarters.

¹ For an account of Sayyid Salár see Gazetteer, II., 77.

The following statement gives the educational statistics of the district Education. from the earliest records available :—

Class of school.	1850-51.			1860-61.			1871-72.							
	Number of schools.	Number of pupils.	Cost.	Number of schools.	Number of pupils.	Cost.	Number of schools.	No. of pupils.			Average daily attendance.	Cost per head.	Proportion borne by State.	Total charges.
								Hindús.	Musalmáns.	Others.				
Government.	Zila (superior),	...	...	...	...	...	1	304	37	3	181	24-13	24-5	5,913
	Tahsili	...	...	11	603	2,711	9	371	32	...	338	9-2	8-7	3,645
	Halkabandi	...	...	50	1,219	4,832	150	5,345	130	...	4,053	2-11	1-5	13,805
	Female	...	...	...	...	...	23	369	5	...	326	3-2	3-2	1,298
Aided	Anglo-vernacular	1	145	4,800	...	...	12	751	111	21	779	30-9	17-0	28,684
Unaided	Indigenous	...	...	...	361	817	143	1,465	248	44	1,667	7-7	...	12,545
Total	...	1	145	4,800	422	2,639	337	8,405	563	67	7,862	...	...	65,891

The tahsili and halkábandi schools were opened in 1855, and the female schools in 1866. Education in the district of Cawnpore is under the supervision of the inspector of the second or Agra circle, in concert with the local committee. The superior zila school also bears the name of Amr Náth's school, in memory of an endowment by the late deputy collector of that name, the proceeds of which contributed largely to the erection of the school-house nine years since. The school became a zila school in 1867 in development of the Anglo-vernacular school kept up for many years by Babu Nemai Charan with the aid of the Government. There is a small fund for scholarships attached to this school based on a subscription raised in memory of the Duke of Edinburgh's visit in 1870. The chief aided English school in the town is the Christ Church School of the S. P. G. Society which was established in 1860. This also educates up to the matriculation standard of the university, and has branches in Generalganj and Begamganj. The same Society had an orphanage school for boys and girls at Asrapur in the vicinity of the old civil station of Nawábganj, but the boys have recently been removed to Roorkee. There are district Anglo-vernacular schools at Bilhaur, Derapur, Rasúlbad, Akbarpur, and Ghátampur. The language of instruction in the tahsili and halkábandi schools is Hindi and Urdu. The school entered for 1850-51 was one established twenty years before by the Calcutta Committee of Public Instruction, and seems to have been closed by the time of the mutiny. Female education has taken no hold in the district. The greatest push

in this direction was made by the Khánpur Thákurs, more, it is to be feared, to please the magistrate than from any conviction of its utility.

The following statement shows the results of the statistics collected at the census of 1872 regarding education :—

Ages.	HINDUS.						MUSALMÁNS.					
	Males.			Females.			Males.			Females.		
	Number.	Literate.	Percentage.	Number.	Literate.		Number.	Literate.	Percentage.	Number.	Literate.	
1 to 12 ...	169,499	3,875	2·2	146,029	4		13,209	359	2·7	12,335		
12 to 20 ...	99,361	4,682	4·7	80,693	...		7,559	384	5·0	6,699		
Above 20 ...	303,403	21,234	6·9	266,802	...		26,787	1,655	6·4	23,326		
Total ...	572,269	29,791	4·6	493,524	4		46,655	2,398	4·7	42,560		lit.

The report of the local committee for education for 1876-77 gave the following statistics : there were in the whole district 377 schools of all grades with a total number of scholars of 11,060, forming less than one per cent. of the population. The principal school was the zila or Amr Náth's school ; in addition there were an oriental branch school, 9 tahsili schools, 3 parganah schools, 25 female schools, and 160 halkábandi schools, the pupils of which consisted almost entirely of Hindús. There were also four municipal schools and four private schools; Christ Church School, the Guteha orphanage, and the recently established Memorial School for children of European and Eurasian parentage. The boys' school is a fine double-storied building near the Union Church (dissenting) and parsonage, in connection with which it was originally established. The girls' school has been removed to a fine site on the banks of the Ganges in the old cantonments. This establishment, largely supported by voluntary contributions, promises to be of much value, as affording education to the children of persons whose circumstances do not admit of their sending them to any distance.

There is one jail in the district under the superintendence of the civil surgeon. The management and system now is infinitely superior to that of the pre-mutiny period. "In the Cawnpore Jail," Mr. Montgomery writes, "so late as the year 1835, the prisoners under different terms of imprisonment were mingled together ; those sentenced to labour and those without labour being often confined in one ward. Even

prisoners under trial were confined with those sentenced to imprisonment for life. Some of the criminal prisoners were in the same wards with the civil prisoners, and some of the female prisoners wore irons. Regular clothing was not served out, or, if it was, it did not reach the prisoners. Indiscriminate intercourse with relations and friends was permitted, and for thieves and vagabonds the jail had no terror."

In 1844 a superintendent of jails was appointed, who classified the prisoners according to the gravity of their sentences; arranged for distribution of labour; improved the sanitary conditions of the jails themselves; and substituted the following fixed dietary in place of the money allowance formerly given:—

*Jail dietary.*¹

Denomination and class of prisoners.	DAILY DIETARY.					
	Atta.	Dāl.	Salt.	Pepper.	Wood.	Tobacco.
	Chht. 12	Chht. 2	Mā. 10	Chht. ½ per week	Chht. 14	Chht. ½ per week.
Strong and able-bodied men on hard labour.	10	2	10	½ do.	14	½ do.
Male prisoners without labour and females with labour.	10	...	10	...	14	...
Prisoners under trial ...	10	...	10	...	14	...

The following statement will show the expenditure in the jail during the year 1846:—

Average number of prisoners during the year.	Total aggregate number of prisoners during the year.	Permanent establishment.	Contingent establishment and bills.	Diet and fuel.	Clothing and bedding, &c.	Total expenditure.	Amount proceeds of productive labour.	Cost of establishment per head.	Cost of diet per head.	Clothing and bedding per head.	Total cost per head per annum.
		Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.
81,976	299,231	6,684	9,317	14,789	1,289	22,979	1,542	17½	48	1½	39½

¹ The wheat was of the best quality, and half the quantity or six chhatāks of rice was given in place of atta when the prisoners preferred it, and an equivalent of vegetables was given in place of dāl twice a week: 12 chhatāks are equivalent to one lb. 8 oz. 10·974 drs. avoirdupois, and 10 chhatāks are equivalent to 1 lb. 4 oz. 9·142 drs. avoirdupois; 65 māshas make one chhatāk, and 16 chhatāks make one ser of eighty tolas, or 2 lbs. 14·57 drs. avoirdupois.

More recent statistics of the jail are as follows : the average number of prisoners in the jail in 1850 was 625, in 1860 was 573, and in 1870 was 378 ; the ratio per cent. of this average number to the population as shown in the census of 1865 (1,188,862) was in 1850, .052 ; in 1860, .006 ; in 1870, .032. The number of prisoners admitted in 1860 was 1,737, and in 1876 was 1,580, of whom 124 were females. The number of prisoners discharged in 1876 was 1,241. In 1876 there were 331 admissions into hospital, giving a daily average of sick of 10.84. Five prisoners died, or 1.26 of the average strength. The cost per head of average strength, excluding civil prisoners, per annum in 1876 was for rations Rs. 11-4-3½, clothing, Rs. 2-13-7½, fixed establishment, Rs. 11-9-4½, contingencies and hospital charges, Rs. 4-2-5, police guards, Rs. 1-5-6½—or a total of Rs. 31-3-3. The credits resulting from the employment of convicts during the year amounted to Rs. 7,535, and the charges to Rs. 6,148, giving an average cash profit per head of effectives of about five rupees. In 1876 the Muhammadan prisoners numbered 207, and the Hindu 1,353 ; there were 28 prisoners under 16 years of age, 1,304 between 16 and 40, 215 between 40 and 60, and 20 above 60. The occupations of the majority of the male prisoners were—agriculturists, 484 ; non-agriculturists, 592 ; persons of independent property, 62 ; domestic servants, 168 ; Government servants, 54 ; and of no occupation, 83.

The history of the organization of the police for the period previous to the mutiny has been given at some length by Mr. Montgomery

Police. in his Memoir, from which the following account has been compiled. Under the government of the Oudh Nawáb the amil had the same duties to perform as the Magistrate and Collector of the British administration, and the police were entrusted to the landholders and farmers of the revenue, aided by the hereditary village watchmen. There was neither code nor written instructions to guide them, and each one did that which was good in his own sight, so far as he had the power to act. At the same time, as the landholder had to depend upon the cultivators for assistance in carrying out his orders, there was a certain restraint upon him, and he could seldom persistently act contrary to their interests or wishes. Petty criminal cases were decided by the landholders, and more serious offences were disposed of by the amil. In matters of usage relating to caste or religion the pancháyat decided without reference to the officials of Government. Civil causes were, as a rule, disposed of by arbitration. "As to the working of the system," writes Mr. Montgomery, "much depended upon the strength and vigour of the Government of the day ; when the Government was weak and corrupt, the same showed itself in every gradation

of its officers, and perhaps, as has been observed, a pancháyat was the best safeguard against the corruption of the rulers."

In February, 1802, Mr. Welland was appointed Collector of Cawnpore, and in addition Judge and Magistrate. His instructions were simple enough. He was to decide all civil cases according to his own judgment, merely keeping a diary of them in the Persian language. As a Magistrate he had the same powers as the Magistrates in the Lower Provinces, but was allowed to deviate in any point when from local circumstances the manners, habits, and prejudices of the people required it. The old system of police was retained, and the tahríldárs were entrusted with the duties of police officers within their several jurisdictions, and were allowed one and a half per cent. on the collections to support an efficient establishment. Under them the landholders and farmers were responsible for the police in their respective estates, and in each village the watchman or chaukidár was retained. The tahríldárs and landholders were jointly responsible for all robberies, except those on the public roads, when proof was required that they had previous knowledge of the intent, and that they did not take proper measures for its prevention. These arrangements continued until 1806-07, when a system of thánas or police-stations was established, each of which had jurisdiction over a compact block of country about twenty miles square and was manned by a body of police proportionate to its extent and population. Throughout the early years of our rule there was little security for life or property. In 1806 the Collector considered it unsafe to travel about his district without an escort of horsemen. Mr. T. C. Robertson¹ was appointed Judge and Magistrate in 1817, and took in hand the reform of the police. He paid special attention to the protection of travellers and the suppression of *thagi*, and established *marhelas* or watch-posts at intervals of two to four miles along the principal roads, most of which exist to the present day. These stations were held by three men, and in ravine ground by four men, one of whom was always deputed to some adjacent eminence from which the entire road could be seen. During Mr. Robertson's administration there was much improvement in the police arrangements, but subsequently the force so deteriorated that it became more an engine of oppression than of protection.

Mr. Caldecott was appointed Magistrate in 1833, and at once set himself to bring the district into order. He thus describes the state of the district on receiving over charge: "That he found an ignorant and incapable establishment, an inefficient and corrupt police, unacquainted with or disregarding the most common rules prescribed

¹ The late Lieutenant-Governor of these provinces.

for their guidance : a community in which honest men were at a discount, and rascality, fraud, and insubordination were the only means of protection; extensive combinations amongst individuals who had profited by the old system; and finally a want of co-operation on the part of the subordinate officers; both covenanted and uncovenanted." Still he was able to leave his mark on the district, and on his leaving on furlough three years afterwards, his departure was followed by the regrets of all. Mr. Caldecott returned to the district in 1842, and the character of his administration is thus described by Mr. Montgomery :—"His first object was really to place himself at the head of his establishment, and obtain the hearty co-operation of all branches, both European and native. In a similar manner he established a friendly but independent footing with all the other departments of the district, both civil and military. He examined closely into the working of the sudder and mofussil police, established a more speedy communication with the thánas, and adhered invariably to fixed rules of conduct, by enforcing the regulations both in spirit and letter. He demonstrated his power to protect the well-disposed, and to punish all villainy or connivance at it. He made it a point never to dismiss any native officers without good and sufficient cause, and having done so, never to re-appoint them. Not to accept the services of officers dismissed from other zilas for misconduct. He avoided professional thánadars and discountenanced regular spies as far as possible. In filling up vacancies he preferred respectability to talent. In the preparation of his cases he was most minute and careful, so as to prevent a criminal from escaping by any legal flaw. Such a system carried out with the good judgment he possessed could not be otherwise than successful."

In 1824 the chaukidárs or village watchmen had been reorganised and Old chaukidári paid from a fund to which each cultivator contributed. This system abolished. system gave rise to many abuses and constant quarrels between the villagers and their so-called guardians. Many paid black-mail to some notoriously bad character or his nominee, and during the period between the departure of Mr. Robertson and the arrival of Mr. Caldecott the bad characters attained to such influence as to be able to extend their operations from petty thieving to dakaiti. One Názir Irshád Ali had at this time great influence in the Magistrate's office, and his name is connected with much of the villainy of the period. The few offenders that were captured were released through his agency, and generally avenged themselves by another dakaiti upon the people who had given evidence against them. Mr. Caldecott states that "the wide construction given by Mr. Commissioner Barlow to Regulation I. of 1821 raised up many claimants to shares of estates.

Every village was torn by internal dissensions; these disputes would in other districts have been decided by the courts as an affray, but here a more sure plan was for the aggrieved party to engage a gang of dakaits to murder his enemy and plunder his house. Merchants were afraid to press for their money under the fear of being threatened with a similar calamity. Travellers were plundered. Neither Government stores nor the Government dak escaped. Názir Irshád Ali was eventually removed, but then the influence of Munshi Mehndi and the Pandit supplied his place. These were succeeded by Tafuzal Husain's party, but the constant change of European officers, from death, illness, and the wants of the public service, rendered acquaintance with the under-working of the system impossible. The evils with each change grew worse and acquired fresh strength, so that all order was completely at an end, and the reign of terror and corruption fairly established." The chaukidári system was gradually abolished, and instead thereof a village watch was organised.

A general place of rendezvous was fixed upon in each village, where a *nakkára* or drum was kept, and whither all, on an alarm being given, were to assemble. Four of the able-bodied men were appointed to go the rounds in turn every night, and the arrangement of the details was left entirely in the hands of the landholders themselves, the police not being permitted to interfere without special orders. The plan succeeded and continued the basis of the local village police, until it became no longer necessary, and gradually fell into disuse about the year 1843. Gangs of dakaits were hunted down, their leaders were captured, and the members dispersed, not without many bloody conflicts. Mr. Caldecott was succeeded by Mr. Wilson, who ably followed up his plans,¹ and his successor continued on the same system, altering only when in the course of time circumstances required it. In 1845 the police system was again revised by Mr. Brown. The *thánadár* and *tahsildár* were placed in the same locality, and the police jurisdiction was arranged with reference to the revenue jurisdiction. The number of *tháns* was reduced from nineteen to twelve, and from the savings effected the pay of the chief officer of each station was raised, as a rule, from Rs. 25 to Rs. 60 a month. Useless outposts were abolished, and the *tahsildár* was made more directly responsible for the efficiency of the police within his jurisdiction. These measures met with great success and remained in force until the mutiny.

On the re-establishment of order, the police force in these provinces was organised into a constabulary under the provisions of Act V. of 1861. ^{Post-mutiny period.} ~~Edwards~~ ^{Hick} the police consisted of several

¹ Now Sir J. C. Wilson, settled in New Zealand.

² From a note by Major Ollivant, District Superintendent of Police, Cawnpore.

bodies of men, raised under various circumstances and subject to different rules, such as the military police, the civil thána police, and the cantonment police, the last of whom were subordinate in every respect to the military authorities. Under this imperfect system efficiency could not be obtained. Some branches of the service were, from the circumscribed nature of their duties, unable to develop detective ability; others suffered in discipline from their superiors being unable to afford time to study the subject, and there was throughout no efficient financial control. Such being the case, it was resolved that there should be in future but one body of police under the Government of the North-West, to consist of an organised constabulary, and of certain irregular police acting in unison with it. This reform was carried into effect in the year 1861. Since that time the constitution of the force has undergone some alterations; but as these involve no change in the principles above laid down, it is desirable to pass on to the present time. The following table will show the strength of the constabulary, and of its main supplement, the municipal or town police as they now exist in the Cawnpore district :—

		Sub-inspectors.	Head-constables.	Foot police.	Total.
Armed police	...	2	20	111	133
Civil ditto	...	16	67	306	389
Municipal ditto	...	1	24	126	151
Total	...	19	111	543	673

Besides these, five inspectors and twenty-six mounted police are attached to the district. The proportion of police to area is one to 2,222 acres, and to population is one to 1,716 persons. It is unnecessary to give details regarding other bodies less regular in their organisation. Chief among these are the village chaukidárs or watchmen. The men are nominated, subject to the approval of the police authorities, by the landholders; but they are subordinate to the officer of the nearest police-station, to whom they report themselves at stated times. Chaukidárs for the protection of roads and canals form the other classes of local watchmen.

In January, 1877, the provinces of Oudh was joined with the North-West, and the police of the two provinces amalgamated. Since that time the strength of the officers in the higher grades

The new system.

has been settled as follows: an inspect-general, with two deputies, forty-four district superintendents, and eleven assistant district superintendents. In each district the superintendent is supported by a limited number of inspectors (European or native), and below these are sub-inspectors, head-constables, and constables. These are again subdivided as regards salary, to admit of a constant stream of promotion being kept up. It is now advisable to say a few words regarding the general principles kept in view in working the police system. In developing the new system it has been recognised as of importance, first, that for the sake of discipline and uniformity of organisation the departmental independence of the police must be to some extent recognised; secondly, that this principle must not be carried so far as to undermine the authority of the Magistrate, since that officer is the administrative head of the district and primarily responsible for its welfare; and thirdly, that in an Indian police system it is, above all, necessary to do away with opportunities for oppression and temptations to be corrupt. Acting on these principles, the North-West Government appointed gentlemen of education to the position of district superintendents, and entrusted to them certain powers under the general control of the inspect-general of police, who is responsible that the force keeps up its character for discipline and general efficiency, and issues such orders as are for its benefit as a whole.

The Magistrate of a district is, on the other hand, empowered to give orders to the district superintendent on questions affecting local interests—such, for instance, as the management of a fair; and is as administrative head of the district consulted by the latter officer when punishment too serious to be awarded on the judgment of one individual is to be inflicted on a member of the force. To do away with temptations to corruption the powers of the thánadár (or sub-inspector as he is called under the present system) have been materially reduced. A confession made before a police officer is no longer of value unless repeated in the presence of a Magistrate; an accused person can no longer be detained for days in a station; and the diary of a police officer cannot be used as evidence except against himself. The introduction into the machine of a link between the sub-inspector and the district superintendent has been also found to be of great value. In old days the thánadár, if corrupt, had but to satisfy the ten or twelve men under him. An English officer is unable, unassisted, to find out instances of undue severity, and evidence of misconduct could never be procured. The inspector of a circle is unable to condone an offence without putting himself in the power of the eighty or one hundred men in the several police stations that compose it. The risk is too great to be lightly undertaken, and his position is too

good to be rashly forfeited; hence gross misconduct on the part of the North-West police seldom passes without punishment. The efficiency of the North-West police has in no sense fallen off since the introduction of the changes described. In its general character for civility and honesty there has been a decided and very marked improvement, and it certainly has not lost ground in detecting crime and prosecuting offenders.

The following statement gives the crime calendar of the district for a period of ten years, and fairly exhibits its character and the results of the police administration:—

Year.	Cases cognizable by the police.					Value of property		Cases.			Persons.			
	Murder.	Dacoity.	Robbery.	Burglary.	Theft.	Stolen.	Recovered.	Total cognizable.	Enquired into.	Prosecuted to conviction.	Persons brought to trial.	Convicted and committed.	Acquitted.	Proportions of convictions to persons tried.
						Rs.	Rs.							
1867 ...	17	4	17	540	1,597	47,907	14,496	3,415	2,059	1,005	1,743	1,516	191	86.9
1868 ...	16	7	19	505	1,563	49,937	17,686	3,586	2,211	1,064	2,177	1,706	471	78.4
1869 ...	17	1	14	623	1,729	42,668	13,200	3,688	2,262	1,148	1,954	1,681	271	86.0
1870 ...	23	6	17	516	1,346	41,191	14,219	3,014	1,885	976	1,662	1,404	258	83.4
1871 ...	13	2	6	1,197	1,309	51,839	15,037	3,941	2,687	1,800	2,626	2,366	260	90.1
1872 ...	22	2	5	1,441	1,806	45,509	21,703	5,163	4,927	2,367	2,736	2,333	394	89.2
1873 ...	15	7	12	1,306	1,760	59,023	20,282	4,919	4,605	2,359	4,871	4,398	473	90.2
1874 ...	14	1	9	1,281	1,694	61,963	21,424	4,938	4,634	2,270	4,415	3,838	576	86.9
1875 ...	6	1	3	1,099	1,410	33,551	12,587	5,026	4,897	2,753	5,433	4,687	746	86.2
1876 ...	17	...	8	624	1,287	60,048	21,725	4,288	3,554	2,021	4,113	3,543	551	86.1

The figures under burglary for 1871-75 include attempts; those for 1876 exclude house-trespass.

There are first-class police stations at Bilhaur, Shinnipur, Bithur, Rashtabad, Shiuli, Akbarpur, Derapur, Sikandra, Bhognipur, Sachendi, Ghátampur, Mahārājpur, Cawnpore City, and Cawnpore Cantonment; second-class stations at Kakran, Chaubepur, Mangalpur, Gajner, Musanagar, Rajeti, Bidhau,

Narwal, Sārā, Anwarganj, Colonelganj, and Nawābganj; and outposts at Arwal, Purā, Kainjari, Tikri, Bāra, Dīg, Kua Khara, Sakatia-Purwa, Gwāltoli, Permit Ghāt, Fīlkhāna Bazār, Gīlis Bazār, Horse Artillery Bazār, Kalyāpur, Naubasta, and Ahīrwān. A first-class station has usually a sub-inspector, two head-constables, and twelve men; and a second-class station has from three to six constables less; an outpost has merely a head-constable and three men.

The suppression of female infanticide is not the least important amongst the multifarious duties of the Cawnpore policeman. In 1876-77 sixteen clans were proclaimed as suspected of practising this crime; they were principally Rājputs, and inhabited 177 villages. During the year one tribe, the Jādon, had been exempted from surveillance. The proportion of boy to girl births in the proclaimed villages—51·04 to 48·96—is pronounced by the principal authority on these matters (Mr. Hobart) to be normal. The same remark applies to the proportion of male to female deaths during the first year of infant life; but the number of girls who died between 1 and 12 years of age was excessive. In the prosecution of suspicious cases the police were singularly unsuccessful. Eight such cases were instituted, and although in two of these the accused were committed for trial to the sessions, all resulted in acquittal. It is, however, only fair to remark that a great difficulty exists in bringing murders of this sort home to the perpetrators. Defences are often set up which, though technically sufficient to procure a verdict of "not proven" in a court of justice, would hardly satisfy the less merciful standards of public opinion. Thus in 1875 a child's death was caused by a bruise in the side, and circumstances excited suspicion against the parents. They were, however, "eventually held quite blameless. a cat entered their house at night and knocked over a *lota* (small round brazen vessel), which falling on the infant caused fatal injuries." But there is another difficulty. Parents are well aware that murders by violence are unnecessary when murders by negligence are equally effective and far safer. The comparative frequency of lung disease as a cause of death amongst female infants points to wilful exposure as a common form of child murder. The clans of Rais, Bhadauria, Chaubān, and Sengar Rājputs seem of late years to have reported a very large proportion of male as compared with female births; and it is possible that, in spite of surveillance, many girls may be made away with before their births are discovered. The punishment of three village watchmen and four heads of families during 1876-77 shows that in some cases pregnancies or births are not reported at all.

In the following table are shown the post-office statistics for four years
Post office. since 1860 :—

Year.	Receipts.						Charges.					
	Miscellaneous sav- ings and fines.	Passengers and parcels.	Deposits, guaran- tee funds, fami- ly funds.	Remittances.	Postage.	Total receipts.	Charges fixed and contingent, sa- laries, &c.	Mail services.	Remittances.	Other charges, re- funds, advances, printing.	Cash balance.	Total charges.
	Rs.		Rs.	Rs.	Rp.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.
1861-62...	355	38,596	11,154	65 715	24,205	1,40 025	14,803	49,887	69,550	6,439	41	1,40,790
1865-66 ..	697	...	49	18,259	20,481	39,485	11,506	6,638	21,045	48	218	39,485
1871-72...	877	...	9,210	26,810	23,672	60,589	17,569	6,476	26,898	9,269	357	60,589
1875-76 ..	296	...	342	29,650	22,865	53,154	29,988	...	24,318	21	2,835	57,147

There are 29 imperial and four district post-offices. The former are at Akbarpur, Amrodha, Bháupur, Bhognipur, Bidhnu, Bilhaur, Bithúr, Cawn-pore, Derapur, Gajner, Ghátampur, Jhínghak, Kanjri, Maharájpur, Makanpur, Mangalpur, Musanagar, Narwal, Nawárganj, Pokhrayan, Rasdhan, Rasúl-abad, Rura, Sachendi, Sirsaul, Shiuli, Shíurájpur, Sikandra, and Dhalípnagar ; the latter at Chaubepur, Kakaun, Sajeti, and Sárh. The number of letters, parcels, and other missives received and despatched at these offices during the same four years may be thus tabulated :—

	1861-62.				1865-66				1870-71				1875 76			
	Letters.	Newspapers.	Parcels.	Books.	Letters.	Newspapers.	Parcels.	Books.	Letters.	Newspapers.	Parcels.	Books.	Letters.	Newspapers.	Parcels.	Books.
Received	542,319	85,490	7,606	5,746	576,420	37,743	6,508	2,423	755,827	51,005	3,605	8,324	955,423	61,384	7,806	7,419
Despatched.	584,891	11,713	2,309	2,451	850,175	32,284	1,593	2,164	693,014	15,268	2,106	5,918	...	...	...	...

Previous to the cession the district had undergone many changes, due to the decline and consequent weakness of the Mughal government, and under the rule of the Nawáb Vazír it fared little better. It was leased by Almas Ali Khán, the Oudh Násim, and was "exposed," writes Mr. Montgomery, "to all the evils and abuses which existed in that province. The revenues of the country were anticipated,

the tenures, by which the amils and farmers held their possessions were most precarious, and the misery of the lower classes, excluded from all protection, was excessive." Mr. Wolland, the first Collector, also writes:—"The policy of the Nawáb Vazír and of Mír Almás Ali Khán¹ was to levy and collect by every means practicable all they could, and at the commencement of each season of cultivation they granted supplies for carrying it on; even the subsistence, food, raiment, and dwelling of the inhabitants were mostly regulated and paid for from the funds furnished by the Government." Regarding the management of the land revenue he adds:—"The cultivators having been deprived of their stock in the past year at the cultivating season, advances were made in money or seed, while cattle and instruments of husbandry were delivered at a stipulated rate of value, the amount of which, together with a sum as interest equal to a fourth of the principal, would be received on the gathering of the crops. Whether the terms were written or verbal, it depended on the season how far they were abided by. The amil was all-powerful and arbitrary, was guided by the interest of the moment, and is said to have always taken the utmost which the stock and produce would afford." The Government kept little faith with the great lessees, and they in turn showed little regard for the rights and interests of the under-farmers, who found the terms of their leases altered three or four times in a year, and were therefore obliged to pass the additional burdens on to the cultivator. Irregular dues,² levied by all who had the power to compel their payment, severely hampered the trade of the country. Almost every petty Rája on all the great lines of communication had his *sáir chabátra* or toll platform for the purpose of collecting transit duties on all merchandise passing through his territory, whilst cesses were levied on all the products of agriculture and home manufacture, as well as on the exercise of all kinds of trades and handicrafts. There was no police, and in such a state of society there was no security for either life or property; the cultivator hardly knew that he should be able to reap the crop that he had

¹ Sleeman, however (I. 321), gives a much more favourable opinion of the Násim.

² The following are a few of these cesses described by Mr. Richardson in his letter to the Board in 1804 (dated 23rd March):—*Parjauat* or *parjot* was a duty which was paid by the inhabitants of the villages, markets, towns, and cities, such as sweetmeat-sellers, grocers, and other shopkeepers, and was included in the land-revenue demand. This was abolished in 1802. The duty known as *sang-wazari* arose from the practice of the former officials, who deputed men to inspect once or twice a year the weights used in the bazaar, and to affix to such as were found correct a mark or stamp, without which their use was illegal. To defray the expense of this inquisition a cess was levied at various rates upon the several trades, but eventually the duty was collected under the Nawáb's government without either examining or testing the weights in any way. *Nimakh edar* was the duty on collecting the saline earth and manufacturing salt therefrom, and in 1808 yielded a revenue of Rs. 2,574 a year. *Kirghadi* was a duty paid by weavers for their looms. *Tár-o-shahar* represents the tax on toddy and date trees, which in 1801-02 yielded Rs. 381. *Máhi* was a tax in pargana Khamaj, then belonging to Cawapore, on the fishing in the Káli Nadi. In the same pargana there was a grazing tax imposed on the Ahírs and cowherds who used the pastures along the Káli.

sown; cultivation languished, trade decreased, and the chief care of the great majority of the population was either to defend their own property or to plunder that of others. Writing in 1802, Mr. Welland says:—"The subjects in this part of the country are in the most abject state of poverty. Let the face of the country be examined, and there will hardly be a manufacture found or an individual in such circumstances as to afford the payment of a tax. The whole is one desolate waste, in which tyranny and oppression have hitherto universally prevailed."

Such was the condition of the district at its cession to the British.

Mr. Welland assumed charge of the revenue, criminal, and judicial administration on the 8th of March, 1802,

and at once commenced inquiries with a view of ascertaining a proper basis on which to assess the land revenue.¹ He found the revenue assessed by the Oudh Nawáb to amount to Rs. 22,56,156, and increased the demand by a sum of Rs. 2,31,768 in 1210 *fasli* (1802-03). This assessment was formed for three years, and is known as the first triennial settlement. There is good reason to believe that the estimate of the revenue of the ceded districts furnished by the Oudh Government to the British, and on which their first assessments were generally made, was in every respect excessive, and was framed with a view of showing as high returns as possible in order to amuse the British Government "with an exaggerated estimate of the value of their acquisition." In any case, it is hardly probable that a government like that of the Nawáb's would underestimate the resources of the country, and it was therefore incumbent on Mr. Welland to ascertain clearly that there were good grounds for believing the existing assessment inadequate before increasing what was *prima facie* as high a demand as the people could pay. We know that the Collector did make inquiries, but there is nothing in the records to show on what basis he made the settlement, or what were the reasons which induced him to consider the existing assessment insufficient. Unfortunately for the people, the season of 1801-02 was a good one, whilst that of 1802-03 was the finest ever known, and the settlement was not formed until the produce of the kharíf harvest had been ascertained.

The *takavi* advances made by the Oudh Government for 1209 *fasli* (1801-02) were, moreover, remitted, as well as all balances of revenue due on account of previous years; so that buoyed up by a good kharíf harvest, release from all arrears, and the very promising appearance of the rabi, the landholders were led to agree to terms which, had they looked forward to later harvests,

¹ The figures and facts here given apply, when not otherwise stated, to the district as it now stands.

they would not have assented to.¹ It has been said that the landholders engaged for the revenue on the understanding that, in accordance with the Oudh practice, they should receive a deduction of ten per cent. on their engagements in lieu of *malikána* or proprietary allowance; but the Collector declared that the deduction was allowed as *nánkár* or subsistence, and had already been taken into account in fixing the assessment. That the people generally believed they were entitled to this indulgence is shown by the fact that they petitioned the Board of Revenue on the subject, and on being referred to the courts, instituted suits against Government; which, owing to some informality, were thrown out; and discouraged by this unfortunate result, they abandoned the prosecution of their claims.

The revenue of the year 1802-03, with some trifling exceptions, was realized without difficulty, but the years of plenty were succeeded in Drought of 1803-04. 1803-04 by one of drought. There was a total failure of both harvests, and the assessment at once collapsed. The Collector recommended a remission of Rs. 2,42,184 and a suspension of a similar sum; but these measures were insufficient to meet the calamity. On all sides the distress was intense, and reports came in daily from the officials in the interior of the district declaring their inability to collect the revenue. The Collector himself reported² that many of the landholders had absconded and the amounts due from them could not be recovered, nor were offers forthcoming for the transfer of the estates of the defaulting landholders with the condition of the transferee paying up the balance due. The produce of the land was in many cases less than the Government demand, and there was little hope of collecting the arrears or restoring the district to its former prosperity for some time to come. The Collector urged that sales should be allowed, and, in reply to the Board's order directing him to take such measures as should be found necessary for the security of the future revenue of the abandoned estates, wrote as follows:—

"I beg you will assure the Board that my utmost attention and constant vigilance shall be exerted to form the best practicable settlement from the terms that may be offered for the security of the future revenues of the maháls alluded to. It has been with peculiar anxiety and regret that I have had the irksome duty to perform of reporting so frequently to the Board on the numerous instances of absconding *malguzárs*, but when I reflect upon the deficiencies and difficulties that unavoidably resulted from the parching and destructive drought of the last season, and advert to the exertions and endeavours that have been made to conciliate the minds of the cultivators and suppress alarm, and when ultimately I consider the liberal indulgence allowed by Government to the *malguzárs* of this district in mitigation of the ill-effects of the inclemency

¹ Letter from Collector, dated 26th December, 1803; Board's records, 17th January, 1804, No. 24.

² To Board, dated 9th July; from Board, dated 21st July; and to Board, dated 14th August, 1804.

of the season, I have the satisfaction to believe that no attention either to humanity or good policy has been omitted. I trust the Board will not deem me presumptuous in expressing my humble hope that when the Board in its considerable wisdom shall have taken a review of all circumstances, it will find the state of the district with respect to the liquidation of its revenues not behind in a comparative view at the end of the year with that of the majority of the districts of the ceded provinces. I have the honour, for the information of the Board of Revenue, to report that the takávi advances authorized by Government in this district, amounting to the sum of Rs. 1,80,826, have been completed."

Ultimately the suspensions of the revenue demand amounted to Rs. 4,84,368, or, if the balance of the Bhádon instalment (Rs. 44,419) be added, to Rs. 5,28,787. The Collector further wrote:—"I am confident that I am within the mark in stating the balances due to the tahsildárs at the expiration of the year (1803-04) at one lakh, making altogether a total of Rs. 6,28,787 not collected from the district during the year. The remission in 1804-05 amounted to Rs. 82,804, and the balance of the Bhádon demand to Rs. 1,37,472, of which a part will be realised from the sale of the estates of the defaulters." The Board yielded to the pressure and permitted the sale of the estates of the defaulters, instead of revising the demand and suspending its collection until more favourable times. By November, 1805, estates assessed at nearly four and a half lakhs of rupees had fallen under direct management, owing to the default or misfortunes of their owners, without counting those re-settled at a reduced revenue. In less than a year from the time that permission was given, 238 estates, assessed at a land revenue amounting to Rs. 3,64,386, were sold, and others were put up for sale, but, finding no purchasers, became the property of Government. Mr. Montgomery writes:—

"This, coming as it did after so severe a visitation of Providence as the famine of 1211 *fahi*, was an excessively harsh measure; it was, moreover, unjust to the landholders, who were little acquainted with our revenue regulations, and who were in many cases, through the chicanery of the native officers, kept in perfect ignorance of the penalty hanging over their heads. It was the interest of the native officers to blind the people on this point and purchase the estates on the day of sale on their own account. Some time subsequently the Collector, addressing the Board, details the villainy of one Ram Mohan Ghose, tahsildár of Shiuli, who was convicted on the clearest evidence of having reported many zamindárs to have absconded who were at the time actually present in their villages. The zamindárs, on being questioned why they concealed themselves from the Government peons, said they had done so by order of the tahsildár. They likewise stated that no advertisements were ever put up in the villages, and that they were ignorant of the sale till the purchaser came to take possession. In other cases it was proved that the tahsildár promised to purchase the estate in the name of the zamindár's relations, instead of which he purchased it for himself in the names of his own friends. In this manner the creatures of the unprincipled tahsildárs and native officers purchased many of the finest and best estates for very small sums, and got others in farm; there were not wanting speculators, who for a trifle purchased estates, and who, either in case they could not obtain possession, or

were dissatisfied with their bargain, threw them up and left them in the hands of Government. It was to remedy these proceedings, and restore to the zamindars the estates of which many of them had been fraudulently deprived that a special commission was formed in the year 1821 A.D. At the close of 1811 *fask* the district seems to have been in a complete state of disorganization, and property generally deteriorated. The native officials again and again urged the Collector to apprehend and bring back the absconded zamindars, according, as they asserted, to the customs prevailing under the Nawab's government. Their representations were forwarded to the Board, who of course refused to interfere. The cultivators' rates fell generally throughout the district, and the finest lands were to be had at comparatively reduced rates."

Then came a time of some care and consideration: an advance for seed and plough cattle, amounting to Rs. 1,88,836, was made, but still the actual remissions amounted to the large sum of Rs. 4,47,762. In the meantime preparations were made for the formation of a second triennial settlement. Patwaris or accountants were ordered to forward through the tahsil statements exhibiting the produce of their respective villages; while tahsildars and kanungos were directed to test the accuracy of these documents, affixing their seals to those passed as correct. The Board, however, desired that the engagements of the first triennial settlement should be continued, but the Collector represented that this was impossible, that the district generally was over-assessed, as the history of the past year had shown. He further wrote:—

"I should mention the large sums of money paid by individuals of property on account of their engagements which have not been collected by them from the country, a particular instance of which the Board will observe in parganah Shiurajpur-Sakhrui, in the taluka of Raja Shiu Singh, and many instances of the kind have occurred, besides the one alluded to, though not probably to such extent. Persons of this description will not subject themselves to the possibility even of again being obliged to pay sums from their own private funds on account of the revenues of Government, neither have they generally the means, and many persons of some property and consideration have refused to engage for their estates on the present reduced assessments, giving as their reason that the prospect of profit is not sufficient to induce them to risk their property, which in case of failure in their engagements from adventitious circumstances would be involved. Another and principal cause of the decrease is the practice of the cultivators of quitting their villages to cultivate elsewhere at a reduced rate, or of relinquishing part of their lands in the village they reside at and cultivating lands in the next village under the denomination of *pahkhasht* at a reduced rate per bigha. This practice in a district in which all the engagements with the cultivators are for money, and not for a portion of the produce, must reduce the receipts of the malguzars considerably, and consequently affect the revenues of Government. The rate per bigha in this district was excessively high, and was kept up during the Nawab's government by forcing the tenants to cultivate at such rates, and, in case of their quitting the lands, by compelling them to return to those they originally cultivated. I have received repeated representations from the tahsildars on this subject, enclosing long lists of cultivators who have quitted their holdings. I beg further to bring to the notice of the Board an attempt I believe to have prevailed among some of the malguzars to reduce the resources of their estates by allowing them to fall off in the present year, in the hope that a

settlement would be concluded with them on a fixed annual revenue equal to the produce of the present year. These instances I hope, however, are few, and the effects counteracted by making the settlement on an increasing revenue."

The ultimate result of his repeated remonstrances was that the Collector was permitted to make what arrangements he best could, and he reported as follows on the re-settlement of the district :—

"The decrease of Rs. 14,543 in the revenue of parganah Shiuráj-Shiuli falls principally on such estates as have fallen under direct management from the absconding of the malguzárs, or otherwise the balance from the maháls amounts to Rs. 9,543. On a reference to the produce of the present year, the profits of the malguzárs will be scarce anything; they have engaged with the hope of profit in the future years by their own industry in improving the cultivation of the lands. The cultivators of this parganah have been greatly distressed in the past year from heavy falls of hail when their crops were ripe; for though a remission was allowed by Government of Rs. 12,670, yet it only included the demands of Government. The loss to the cultivators may be estimated at an equal amount. The taluka of Rájá Shiu Singh has been made provisionally *hazúr tahsil*; the security is unobjectionable, and the amount of the revenue seems to render it proper to be managed in that manner. With respect to the decrease, I have to observe that the estate is mortgaged to the surety, Udai Chand, for Rs. 8,000; and he has paid on account of the estate the further sum of Rs. 14,000, making a total of Rs. 22,000 not realized from the estate in the period of the last settlement. Should the Board approve of the estate being made *hazúr tahsil*, the loss to Government will not be great in the present year, as the commission saved will on the original revenue be Rs. 7,658.

"The decrease of Rs. 20,916 in parganah Bilhaur Dewa falls principally on those estates which have fallen under direct management. The balance from them amounts to Rs. 20,640 for the past year. There is a further unadjusted balance of Rs. 5,318 on account of destruction of crops caused by detachments marching through the parganah from Cawnpore, and the crops having been repeatedly destroyed, the cultivators will not again cultivate their fields. In such villages there is a consequent decrease. The cultivators in this parganah have experienced great losses from the same cause as in parganah Shiurájpur, the remissions on account of the hailstorm not having included the damages they sustained. The decrease in the present year falls particularly heavy, owing to the deficiency of rain in the early part of the season, and when the rain did fall, it was in such torrents that the people had hardly opportunity to sow their fields properly; this remark holds good generally throughout the district.

"The decrease of Rs. 8,976 in parganah Rasúlbad is partly in the maháls which have fallen under direct management, the balance of which on account of the past year is Rs. 10,519, and partly in the taluka of Khair Lálji, on account of which the surety assured me he had paid Rs. 18,000 during the period of the first settlement. The remarks concerning the effect of the hailstorm on the cultivators mentioned in parganah Shiurájpur appertain also to this parganah. Had a new assessment been made of the whole parganah the decrease would not have been so great, as several estates are considerably improved.

"The average decrease in parganah Derapur-Mangulpur is Rs. 10,372, and falls partly on the maháls which were under direct management, from which there is a balance due of Rs. 6,990. Another principal cause of decrease which is particularly great in this year is the deficiency of rain in the early part of the season when

the cotton is sown. This parganah is on the banks of the Jumna, and its principal produce is cotton, in which there is this year a great failure from the above cause. Another circumstance is the dissatisfaction of the malguzárs at the conduct of the tahsildár. The landholders in this parganah are chiefly Rájputs, a caste of people who ill-brook bad treatment, and they had neglected the cultivation, having determined to relinquish their engagements in case of the tahsildár remaining in the situation.

"Of the decrease of Rs. 4,210 in parganah Biláspur Sikandra, Rs. 478 were incurred in former years; the further deficiency is partly in the estates held under direct management, the balance from which on account of 1212 *faski* is Rs. 2,795. This parganah is also on the banks of the Jumna, and the great decrease in the present year is owing to the deficiency of rain in the early part of the season by which the cotton is much injured."

"Of the decrease of Rs. 9,698 in parganah Akbarpur Sháhpur, Rs. 1,573 were incurred in the settlement concluded for four years, including 1212 *faski*, which has been confirmed by the Board; the remainder falls partly on such estates as have fallen under direct management, the balance due from which on account of 1212 *faski* is Rs. 8,076, and partly on some villages on the high road between Kálpi and Cawnpore, where the cultivators experience great annoyance by being called upon frequently to carry the baggage of troops marching between those places, and partly from its situation on the banks of the Jumna."

"Of the decrease of Rs. 14,582 in parganah Bárh-Shankarpar, Rs. 3,785 were incurred in the settlement of sundry villages made in 1212 *faski* for four years, and approved by the Board; and the further sum of Rs. 1,016 in estates which were exposed to public sale for arrears of revenue at a reduced revenue, agreeably to the orders of the Board. The decrease in the present settlement falls partly in such estates, including those of absconded malguzárs, as are in arrears, the balance due from which on account of the past year is Rs. 8,589, and partly on those villages affected by their position. I would further notice that in the month of Asárh (July) the tahsildár represented that the cultivators generally throughout this parganah refused to cultivate at the very high rate per bigha of the parganah, and it was not till the rate was reduced that they cultivated their lands."

"Of the decrease of Rs. 10,486 in parganah Ghátampur, Rs. 1,595 were incurred in the settlement made for four years, including 1212 *faski*, which has been approved by the Board; and the further sum of Rs. 427 in estates which were sold at a reduced revenue for arrears, agreeably to the orders of the Board. The decrease in the present settlement falls partly on estates, including those of absconded malguzárs, from which there is a balance due on account of the past year of Rs. 10,468, and partly on those affected by their position on the banks of the Jumna."

"Of the decrease of Rs. 9,736 in parganah Bhogul-Musánagar, Rs. 1,848 were incurred in the re-settlement of sundry estates, which has been approved by the Board, and Rs. 288 in estates sold by public sale at a reduced revenue for arrears. The decrease of the present settlement falls partly on the estates, including those of absconded malguzárs which are in balance, which on account of the past year amounts to Rs. 8,847, exclusive of a large balance due to the tahsildár, and partly from its situation on the Jumna. This parganah has been considerably affected by the deficiency of rain in the early part of the year, and by the cultivators from Bundelkhand, who greatly supported the cultivation of this parganah, not having come over this year in any number."

"Of the decrease of Rs. 15,454 in parganahs Salempur and Domampur, Rs. 12,86 fall on estates which were sold by auction at a reduced revenue, and Rs. 4,581 in the village of Saraul, which was sold in the year 1819 *faali* at a

reduced revenue, and could not be restored to its original revenue in the present settlement, because the original assessment far exceeded the assets, owing to the enmity of two parties who outbid each other for the village at the formation of the settlement. The decrease in the present settlement falls partly on estates of absconded malguzárs and others. The balance on account of the past year in this parganah amounts to Rs. 6,221, and the estates in which the decrease falls have entirely been engaged for with new malguzárs. The principal cause of the decrease is that the indigo cultivation which was carried on by Mr. J. Queiros in this parganah to a very considerable extent has been much relinquished.

"I beg to assure the Board that no pains or enquiry have been spared in forming the settlement on the most advantageous terms for Government that the country would admit of; and though the decrease in the present year is considerably, yet in the third year of the settlement the revenue comes as near that of the first triennial settlement as the probable produce of the maháls in which there is a decrease would allow of, or the malguzárs would engage for. In all cases in which the former malguzárs have come forward to hold their lands on the original revenue, I have accepted their offers. In all other instances the offers have been accepted subject to the confirmation of the Board. Those maháls which have been engaged for on the terms of the original settlement with different malguzárs have been so settled on the resignation of the former malguzárs, or where the former malguzárs have been farmers and the present people proprietors, or where the former malguzárs have absconded. In the maháls in which there is a decrease the preference has been given to the proprietors that were willing to engage; in cases of their not coming forward, the preference has been given to the former farmer, unless it has appeared that the mahál has fallen off from his management. In settling the maháls from which there was a balance due to Government on account of former years from proprietors that were not willing to engage again for their lands, and in cases of the absconding of the proprietors, I experienced some difficulty. The estates are of course liable to sale for arrears, and if they had been engaged for the period of the present settlement unconditionally, though the proprietary right might have been exposed to sale, it could not be supposed that any purchasers would be found for estates they were to get possession of three years hence. With the view to remedy this inconvenience, I have taken engagements from the present persons, providing that in case the estates should be exposed to sale for the arrears of the past years, they will themselves purchase or relinquish their engagements in favour of any other person who may become purchaser."

The reduction on the previous assessment amounted to Rs. 1,14,580, and although arrears amounting to Rs. 1,03,290 only accrued during the currency of the new settlement, the revenue was collected with the greatest difficulty. The tahsildárs complained of recusancy on the part of the landholders, and the use of attachment and sale was so frequent that seventy estates fell to the hammer for arrears of revenue alone during this period. The Collector himself felt that he did not go so far as he ought in his remissions, and in explaining the breakdown of his assessment again brings forward the well-worn excuses of deficiency in the rainfall and the flight of cultivators, with the novel addition of *múskhori* or 'destruction by field-mice.'

* To Board, dated 27th September, 1866.

Mr. Dumbleton took charge of the district in February, 1805, and reported that in several cases the assets of estates were less than the Government demand. He proposed that the landholders should be bound to demand from their tenants a rate of rent proportioned to, that of the revenue they themselves paid to Government. The Board had no materials before them from which they could judge of the real facts of the case, and were obliged to require the Collector to give reasons for his opinions, and not, as hitherto, merely echo the opinions of his native subordinates, who had nothing to lose, and everything to gain, by the existing state of affairs. The Government at length deemed it advisable to appoint a commission¹ for the purpose of superintending the ensuing settlement. The commissioners, Messrs. Tucker and Cox, entered on their duties with great energy, and demanded of the Collector his sentiments on the condition of the district, whether it was in that state of forwardness that would admit of a permanent settlement, with due regard to the interests of Government. At this time the grant of a permanent assessment to the upper provinces was considered advisable both by the local authorities and the Supreme Government, and the measure was subsequently lost only by the refusal of the Home Government to sanction it. The Collector was further instructed to report on the present state of cultivation in the district, the amount of the population, and the proportion they bore to its agricultural resources, and whether any improvement could be effected therein by the introduction of new staples or the improvement of existing ones. "The Collector," writes Mr. Montgomery, "was in favour of a permanent settlement being ultimately formed, but recommended that the ensuing settlement be made for a period of 15 years. He reckoned that two-thirds of the arable and waste lands were under cultivation, and observed that it was impossible to form any idea of the population; also that the resources of the landholders were much circumscribed. He stated the principal articles of produce to be cotton and sugar, and in some localities indigo. With this report the Collector also furnished an estimate of the assets of each parganah. This estimate was supposed to show the actual assets, free of any deductions, and the total assets then shown were less than the Government assessment of the district. He argues that if, as the Board wish, a deduction of 15 per cent. in favour of the landholders be made from this estimate, there will be a decrease of five lakhs in the revenue of the district. In his opinion the estimates were false and not to be depended on."

The commissioners themselves in their reports on the district write
Opinions of the commissioners thus concerning the early settlements:—"The Cawnpore district, we have reason to apprehend, was over-assessed

¹ Under Regulation X. of 1807.

at the first triennial settlement, and it is still suffering, we fear, from the consequences of that injurious proceeding. Much too great an anxiety was manifested in this and other instances to draw from the country suddenly the utmost revenue which it could be supposed to yield. Large deductions became necessary in consequence at the second settlement; but even after these concessions were made, the assessment in particular estates was far from moderate. Parganahs Jájmau, Bithúr, Salempur, and Domanpur are supposed to be still heavily assessed." And in their report on the quadrennial settlement they write:—"The extent to which the settlement originally concluded at the cession was carried is to be regretted on many accounts, and in no point of view more than on account of the very general permutation of property which it has produced in the public sale of the over-assessed estates. There is also reason to regret that the reductions allowed at the second settlement, however considerable they may appear, had not been more general, as the large proportion of the further reductions which have been found necessary at the present settlement are solely attributable to the impoverishment of the landholders under a continued over-assessment, while such increase as has been obtained on the present occasion will be found principally among those estates which by a timely forbearance have been afforded the opportunity of improvement."

The quadrennial settlement for 1216 to 1219 *fusli* (1808-09 to 1811-12)

was made at a still further reduction of Rs. 81,864 and amounted to Rs. 21,69,340, after deducting the revenue of parganah Sikandra given in *jágr* to Rájá Anúpgir Himmat Bahádur, which at the preceding settlement amounted to Rs. 1,22,320. Notwithstanding this revision, many landholders refused to engage for the Government demand, and villages assessed at two and a half lakhs of rupees were let in farm. The balances during its currency were, however, very small, and amounted to only Rs. 87,622, which were eventually remitted, and the sales for arrears of revenue affected only forty-nine estates. The board of commissioners in their report on this settlement wrote:—"The present settlement can in fact be considered only as an arrangement for rectifying the inequalities of a settlement originally formed on mistaken principles, and subsequently renewed too generally without due consideration; and in this arrangement we have derived much beneficial assistance from the experience of the late Collector, Mr. Dumbleton, who having himself formed the second triennial settlement, and being officially engaged in the realization of it during the whole period of

its continuance, has every opportunity of making himself intimately acquainted with its defects." It was fortunately found possible subsequently to restore several of the ousted landholders who had been fraudulently deprived of their estates, but the great mass of the sufferers never received either aid or compensation. Government and the old proprietary body fared equally badly: the resources of the district went into the hands of as corrupt a body of officials as ever existed in these provinces, and the worst features of the pre-British period were repeated without any of its redeeming qualities.

The commissioners, whilst acknowledging the partial success of the quadrennial settlement, were not slow to perceive that vigorous measures were necessary to render it possible to continue the fiscal administration of the district on a stable basis. It was desirable to strike at the root of the evil by a rigorous investigation on the spot, and Mr. Newnham, an officer of great and varied experience, was deputed to Cawnpore to conduct the fourth or first quinquennial settlement for the years 1220 to 1224 *fasli* (1812-13 to 1816-17). This settlement was extended subsequently by various Regulations, and lasted until the revision under Regulation IX. of 1833 took place. Mr. Newnham commenced by clearing the district of the party of corrupt and intriguing officials which had so long held it completely in their hands. "By the removal of these people and their relatives," writes Mr. Montgomery, "he at once opened sources of information which had hitherto been blocked up. He proceeded into the interior of the district and held personal communication with the people, not, as heretofore, through the medium of the native officials. He seems quite to have gained their confidence and affection; he restored, where possible, many of the old and injured zamindars to their estates, and by a judicious reduction and equalization of the revenue, and by a proper selection of representatives of the different communities, he formed a settlement which for a period of twelve years stood well and was collected without distressing the people. Subsequently, from causes which I shall hereafter state, the zamindars became embarrassed and heavy arrears accumulated." Though the result of the assessment showed a nominal increase, due to the resumption of the revenue-free estate of Najafgarh and the transfer of some villages from parganah Kora to this district, there was a real decrease of Rs. 8,707, and the redistribution of the revenue gave great relief to many estates. The villages, too, which were purchased by the servants of Government and their relations, and had generally been brought into a high state of cultivation, were also made to bear their fair share of the Government demand.

The conduct of the native officials and the extensive changes in the proprietary body which was brought about through their means have been referred to above, and may be further noticed here. The special commission. The operations of the band of plunderers who preyed on the district were conducted on a wide and systematic scale. The tahsildárs, or native sub-collectors of the land revenue in the interior of the district, were related to the officials of the head-office, or, as in one instance, the tahsildár was a child nominated by his relations, who exercised the power and enjoyed the privileges of the office. Hence remissions of revenue never benefited those for whom they were intended. Tahsildárs through their creatures assumed charge of the defaulting estates, and though Government was moved to remit the outstanding balances as irrecoverable, and even actually granted the remissions, numerous estates were brought to sale for these very arrears, and bought in by the native officials or their nominees. In all this roguery they were assisted by the originally incorrect record of rights. Even the names of the villages had been altered, and persons actually enjoying proprietary rights were ignorant of their danger, either because their names did not appear as the defaulters, or they did not recognise their own villages in the names of the estates put up to auction. Indeed numerous instances occurred where the actual proprietor was totally unconscious that he was represented as in arrears, or was reported as an absconder because he had hid away by the advice of the very officer who was prepared to take advantage of a fault he had himself instigated.

The records in the tahsildárs' offices were not forthcoming, and in the kánúngos' accounts the remissions were unnoticed, and the balances still recorded as outstanding. No authentic patwáris' accounts were to be procured, and, owing to the collusive understanding which subsisted between the office

The "land jobber's ring." establishment at the head-quarters and those residing at the various tahsils in the interior of the district, the official records of the Collector's office, relative to both remissions of revenue and sales of land on account of 1211 and 1212 *fasli*, were mutilated and done away with. There can be no doubt that measures were purposely adopted to render the accounts of the years alluded to unintelligible. It is also remarkable that the sales for alleged balances of those years did not generally take place until the year 1214 *fasli*, after the intervention of a new settlement, at which the assessment was generally made on reduced terms, in many instances with the dependants of the tahsildárs themselves, and almost always to the exclusion of the former landholders. The parganahs in which the most

extensive alienation of property took place through the undue influence of public officers were Bithúr, Dera-Mangalpur, Ghátampur, Jájmau, Shiuli, Rasūlabad, and Bilhaur. In Bithúr, Násir Ali worked through his brother-in-law, Darwesh Ali, tahsildár; in Dera-Mangalpur, through his brother, Kalab Ali. In Ghátampur, Ahmád Baksh, the núzir, who was brought by Mr. Welland with him from Jaunpur, appointed his own nephew, Zulfikár Ali, a child, as tahsildár, and enjoyed all the emoluments of the office. His dependants, Pahlwán Beg, Mír Agháwan, Madad Husain, Dára Khán, and Ján Ali, were employed, as circumstances required, either as amíns deputed to attach estates, as farmers when the proprietors were to be excluded from the management, as purchasers when Ahmád Baksh wished to acquire the property, or as sureties for each other. Thus these five names are constantly cropping up in the village histories, and transfers as regularly were made by them in favour of Ahmád Baksh. Similarly, in the remaining parganahs every specious fraud was resorted to in order to enrich the very persons who caused the defalcations by which they profited. In the Persian settlement account drawn up by the tahsildárs the names of their relations or friends were surreptitiously introduced as the proprietors of villages whose settlement had been made with persons denominated mukaddams and mustájiirs in *English* accounts, where the column of proprietors was left blank. Advantage of this was taken by Táj-ud-dín Husain Khán, tahsildár of Akbarpur, in which parganah this species of fraud was chiefly resorted to, to divest a large number of landed proprietors of their ancestral possessions.

The fearful state of demoralization caused by these transfers of landed property forced itself on the attention of Mr. T. C. Robertson, Judge and Magistrate, as early as 1818, when he first addressed Government. Nothing

Work of the com- was, however, done till 1820, when he again urged on mission.

Government the fact that, if the system of constant sales were persevered in, crime would increase, additional police would be necessary, and the judicial establishments be found insufficient to meet the work. On the 27th February, 1821, the Governor-General in Council passed resolutions giving effect to the provisions of Regulation I. of 1821, establishing sadr and mufassil commissions, and Messrs. Christian and Bird were appointed commissioners for the district of Cawnpore. A power of appeal lay from the mufassil to the sadr commission. The attention of the commissioners was principally directed to public sales on account of arrears of revenue, and their

action in this matter is shown by the following figures given by Mr. Montgomery :—

Name of parganah.	NUMBER OF VILLAGES SOLD BY AUCTION				CASES INSTITUTED FOR THE REVERSAL OF FRAUDULENT PRIVATE SALES AND THE FORECLOSING OF MORTGAGES.					
	Sold.	Suits instituted.	Decreed.	Dismissed.	Sales.			Mortgages.		
					Suits instituted.	Decreed.	Dismissed.	Suits instituted.	Decreed.	Dismissed.
Rasulabad ...	41	17	11	6	3	...	3	2	...	2
Bilhaar ...	31	18	14	4	7	...	...	3	...	3
Derapur ...	46	31	23	8	7	...	7	...	...	...
Shinli ...	22	13	11	2	4	...	4	2	1	1
Shirajpur ...	1	1	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Sikandra ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Akbarpur ...	10	3	2	1	6	3	3	...	...	...
Bisbūr ...	59	41	38	3	11	6	5	8	...	3
Bhognipur ...	35	14	6	8	1	...	1	2	...	2
Ghatampur ...	77	48	43	5	2	...	2	1	1	...
Jajmau ...	39	32	21	11	3	...	3	2	...	2
Sārā Salempur ...	44	25	15	10	3	...	3	2	...	2
Total ...	405	243	185	58	47	9	38	17	2	15

Mr. Montgomery, writing in 1848, says that "from the cession up to the present time 405 estates have been sold for arrears of revenue," but by far the majority of these sales took place in the earlier years of our rule. It is difficult to ascertain the number of estates sold in execution of the decrees of the civil courts, as only the rights and interests of individuals were sold; and as there was no record of these rights, the area affected, as well as the extent of the shares, is undefinable. In explanation of the statement of cases before the special commission the same officer writes :—

"It must be confessed that the ignorance of the Government European functionaries, both judicial and revenue, with regard to the peculiar tenures of the country, led, independently of native intrigues, to many and great abuses, and to the breaking up of numerous old proprietary communities. Mr. Newnham, who was Collector in the year 1813, states that in his opinion 800 villages were fraudulently transferred to strangers by the effect of our system of registration commonly known by the name of *dakhil-kharij*. He gives no data from which may be tested the correctness of this statement, and I am inclined to think he much over-estimated the frauds, though many cases doubtless did occur.

"Previous to the present settlement (under Regulation IX. of 1833) the only individual recorded in the Collector's office was the person who contracted to pay the Government revenue, called the lumberdār, but who was only the representative of the village community, many of whom had equal, and perhaps larger, interests than he had in the estate. The Government authorities appear to have considered him as the sole proprietor, and treated him as such. If the lumberdār proved unfaithful and sold the estate, the purchaser's name was recorded in the Government register, and he claimed possession of the whole in consequence. It sometimes happened that the other shareholders thought they might save their shares by having their names also recorded in the register, but this was denied them by the Collector on the lumberdār's objecting. As a last resource they would sue in the civil court to have their names inserted in the register, stating they were in possession of their shares. The court consulted them, telling them that the registry was the Collector's business; the purchaser, backed by the authority of Government, came to take possession, nor was it likely that the Rājputs would quietly give up their rights. Every village, under such circumstances, was a regular battle-field, but eventually the purchaser would be triumphant, and our jails filled with men whose only crime was that of defending their own property from illegal seizure.

"Mr Newnham in illustration of the above gives several examples; I will quote one. Hardhan Singh, the recorded lumberdār of village Bhaura, consented to a conditional sale of the village to one Munshi Gursahāi, the agreement being that at the expiration of three years, if a certain sum advanced was not repaid, the sale should be absolute. It was provided for in the deed that if the estate should pass to Gursahāi he, Hardhan Singh, should hold his lands, paying only a nominal rent for them. It does not appear that the village community knew anything of the sale till the transfer of names had been made in the Collector's register, and the purchaser came to take possession. The constitution of the village was this: it was divided into four shares, and each share again divided into sixteen pattis. The village contained 1,650 bighas of land, of which Hardhan Singh owned only 217 bighas. Mr. Newnham writes: 'the shareholders thus deceived were a class of Rājputs who were known to have fought and frequently defeated the Nawāb's troops in defence of their rights; when I met them they were warm, but their demeanour was that of men urging their part with moderation, and a confidence that the laws of the British Government would do them justice.' It also frequently happened that a wealthy individual purchased a share in an estate, and then by purchasing the interests of some, and paying up arrears due on other shares, gradually became sole proprietor, and thus many village communities lost their proprietary rights and became mere cultivators."

The commission also investigated and reported on the status of the so-called mukaddams and the position of pattidārs, and the conclusion at which they arrived was that the true

Mukaddams.

mukaddam held a subordinate position to that of the proprietor for whom he managed the estate, from whom he received a certain allowance of land or money for the performance of those duties, and by whom he was removable for misconduct, but for no other reason; also that the office was hereditary, but not transferable. They, moreover, stated as their opinion that the name mukaddam was erroneously applied to those persons of good caste, and exercising undoubtedly all the privileges of proprietary right, whose estates had at one time or another become incorporated with the large talukās of power-

ful zamindars; who, in addition to their own personal estate, had obtained the management or superintendence of large areas for the revenue of which they had become responsible. Thus they considered the so-called mukaddams of parganah Shiurájpur as really possessed of proprietary rights, though certain hereditary privileges were exercised over them by the Rájás to whose taluka their villages belonged. Their case, however, is separately noted hereafter. They considered the individuals recorded by Táj-ud-dín Husain Khán, tahsildár of Akbarpur, and Sarúp Singh, Manúngo of Bhognipur, as mukaddams and mustájirs, possessed of full proprietary rights without any limitation, and restored them to their proper position. A few mukaddams properly so-called, i.e., village managers, were left, whose long-standing position recent purchasers have disregarded and put an end to.

With regard to pattidárs, the commission reported that during the disposal of the numberless claims which arose on the institution of a new court with apparently unlimited powers,

Pattidárs.

redress was often sought by others than the recorded *málik*s, but who beyond doubt possessed a definable interest in the estate. It was, moreover, a common practice with the pattidár, in order to avoid expense, to keep aloof till the original claims were decided, and to insist in sharing his success (if obtained) with the original claimant. It is not clear to what extent they exercised the powers of defining the status of each individual sharer; but, undoubtedly, much good must have been done in awakening the attention of all to the fact that Government had their interests at heart and would maintain them to the full.

From Mr. Rose's report, however, it would appear that the work done through the commission was not productive of unmixed good. It is true, he writes, that at the commencement the proceedings under Regulation I. of 1821 remedied great and glaring injustice. "But in lapse of time the local administrators of that law, losing sight apparently of the original intent of the enactment, admitted and decided almost every sort of suit regarding land, and thus before its abolition the regulation, instead of being a means of restoring recently and fraudulently usurped rights, had, under the wide interpretation of the local special courts, become an instrument of disturbance to tenures, which, however weak originally, ought, in respect to their antiquity, to have been considered sacred. It is true that in many cases the special appeal courts rectified the mistaken decisions of their

subordinates, but in the meantime traces of the ancient holdings and subdivisions were effaced. In every instance there was a long account of mesne profits, involving endless litigations to be adjusted, and altogether the rapid and sweeping changes caused in the first instance by revenue, fraud, and incompetency, and subsequently by the operations of the local special courts, engendered a feeling of insecurity in all land tenures which has had a most prejudicial effect on the interests of the district. The revenue authorities and special courts, however, must not bear the whole blame of the confusion of the tenures in this district. Incalculable injustice here and elsewhere has sprung from the loose system which obtains in the civil courts of deciding regarding landed rights without first ascertaining whether the existence of the thing sued for be compatible with the constitutions and tenures of the estate, and of ordering the sale of rights without defining what the rights sold consist of. It is to this system that must be ascribed those anomalous decrees and sales which no ingenuity can execute, and which give the decree-holder or purchaser, if a poor man, nothing; and if a rich and powerful man, an amount of his neighbour's property, limited only by the extent of his own wealth and power. In this district, until the present time, a decree against the individuals whose names were entered in the Government engagements, or a sale of their rights, appears, as a matter of course, to have been considered as giving the decree-holder or purchaser a right to the whole mahal, although there may be many sharers, and ~~the whole mahal may be owned by many persons~~ of which Hardhan Singh owned only one. The wife Manjari, ~~and others~~ have been twenty sharers besides the lumberdars whose rights ought in no way to have been affected by the decree or sale."

The fair incidence of Mr. Newnham's settlement, though originally equitable, was much disturbed by the embarrassments into which the land-holders subsequently fell. Mr. Montgomery writes:—
 The indigo interest. "The principal cause of the embarrassments that ensued was the withdrawal of indigo advances and the stoppage of the Company's cotton factories. From 1220 to 1226 *fasli* (A.D. 1812 to 1819) there appears to have been a steady cultivation of the indigo plant, not the result of rash speculation; from 1226 *fasli* (A.D. 1819) the most reckless trafficking in indigo and cotton commenced. The great indigo factory of Najafgarh caused yearly a vast circulation of money. 'The unprincipled extravagance of that period,' writes Mr. Read, 'surpasses description, and the worst effect was that the same spirit communicated itself to the *malguzárs*. There was no want of money. Little care was taken to provide equivalent returns for advances made, and the unprincipled as well as the imprudent went on as if this state of things could last.

The money does not seem to have been laid out in improvements, but spent on marriages and village festivals. No village improvements were effected; the fiscal value of no estate was advanced; and precisely as advances were supplied with perfect heedlessness to the result, so were they received with no other than fraudulent intentions or non-payment in any shape. The native revenue officers took care to secure the Government revenue, and doubtless did not let the golden opportunity pass without enriching themselves. The firm of Burnett & Co. were the first to collapse, failing to the amount of nine lakhs of rupees. They were succeeded by that of Fortier & Dubois of Najafgarh, whose debts to Alexander & Co. are said to have exceeded twenty-six lakhs of rupees. The sudden stoppage of the large advances to the zamindars was ruinous. Hitherto advances had been made when the revenue demand was pressing. They stopped. Then the indigo lands were for a time deteriorated, and there was no other article to take its place. A loose, careless, and extravagant feeling possessed the landholders. They defrauded the indigo-planters, and were not faithful to Government; hence arose a systematic evasion of payment, resistance of process, and a general character for contumacy. The above remarks refer to the zamindars of the Ganges parganahs. In the Jumna parganahs there was little or no indigo; but the price of cotton fell from Rs. 16 the maund in 1227 *fasli* (A.D. 1820) to Rs. 10 the maund in 1236 *fasli* (A.D. 1829), whilst the burden of taxation remained the same." The effect of this collapse of the indigo interest was, however, more local than the above description would lead one to suppose. Mr. Montgomery indeed confines his remarks to the Ganges parganahs, but, as a fact, the factory to which they

Najafgarh estate. apply is that of Najafgarh only. The rise and fall of this factory in prosperity is not without interest. After more numerous changes than ordinarily appear to have been the fate of any other estate before the cession, it passed as a *jâglr* into the hands of the sisters of Najaf Khân, the amil under the Oudh Government. By them it was leased for Rs. 12,000 to General Martin, who built a large indigo factory, the operations of which extended not only to the nine villages connected with the estate,¹ but also to other villages in the southern part of the parganah, and even across the Ganges into Oudh. His custom was to build vats and masonry wells everywhere, the raw indigo produced in the former being brought to the head factory for final preparation. Besides the 25 vats in the Biposi (Najafgarh)

¹ Biposi Najafgarh, Nagapur, Kharoti, Bagha, Narayapur, Mandhana, Sondhela, Kamalpur, and Ramna, now included in Biposi.

factory, he had 330 vats in 13 villages and built 23 wells. His nephew succeeded him, and was succeeded in his turn by Fortier & Dubois. They became heavily in debt to Messrs. Alexander & Co., and were sold up. The Begams recovered possession, but on a suit being instituted by Messrs. Alexander & Co., the ladies' title was considered insufficient, the estate was resumed by Government and held direct for seven years, after which it was given in farm to Mr. Vincent for twelve years. At last settlement enquiry was made for the real proprietors, but, with the exception of the Thákurs of Sondhela, no one could make good his title, and the estate was settled on the conclusion of his farm in proprietary title with Mr. Vincent. He transferred it to Messrs. Greenway, they to Messrs. Menzies, and they again to Khagol Singh, the present owner. During the occupation of Messrs. Fortier & Dubois, with the object of showing larger profits than were really obtainable, and procuring advances from Messrs. Alexander, the jamabandis or village rent-rolls were raised by the device of calling thirteen biswas a full bigha,¹ instead of twenty biswas. The ruin of this fine estate, then, can in no way be connected with the effect of Mr. Newnham's settlement: it was entirely due to extraordinary causes which were overlooked at the settlement of 1840. The crushing revenues were passed on to the cultivators, who were at the recent revision almost in a state of absolute pauperism, the present proprietors paying the revenue from other sources. Large reductions have been granted in the new assessment, and care has been taken that the relief has reached the cultivator.

In Sárh Salempur, also, Mr. Maxwell had, an estate of eight villages and a factory at Mahúrúppur. He adopted General Martin's plan of building outlying vats and wells, being credited with 187 of the former and 24 of the latter; but many of these structures are situated on what now appears most hopelessly bad land. The estate passed into the possession of Musammát Jáfir Begam, by whom it was sold to Dr. Campbell. The estate has now been distributed by sale amongst various native purchasers, the factory remaining in the hands of Messrs. Shearin. Large estates in Bilhaur

The Maxwells.

also were owned by Mr. Maxwell, and have since been distributed amongst native proprietors. The effect, therefore, of the indigo industry on the economical conditions of this district has received exaggerated importance from Mr. Montgomery. The country in any way affected by the prosperity or ruin of the indigo-planters was limited, and though the spirit of

¹ It is said that the cultivators themselves represented their bigha as smaller, to obtain larger advances. They pay for it now.

speculation in some instances carried ruin to both planter and those dependent on him, there is no reason to believe that the estates of other planters were not conducted on strictly commercial principles. The fact is that the day of indigo is past. The cultivator has become more keenly alive to his own interests, and finds it pays him better to sell his plant at a fair price arrived at by competition (*khush kharid*), or even to build a few vats and manufacture, by the mere process of steeping, a coarse dye (*kachcha nil*) which he sells to larger factories to be made up. Large speculations, too, are now made in the export of indigo-seed, and land is cultivated more with a view of supplying this trade than of providing material for dye. The days of interdependence between planter and cultivator are past: the planter now is but one bidder against many, and the position of villein to which the cultivator was once reduced is changed for that of a rival manufacturer. Indigo no longer pays European factories in the North-West Provinces, and the place of the old squire-like planter has been taken by the native capitalist—unscrupulous and unsympathetic—who, while damaging the soil with excess of canal water, will crush the cultivator as he was never crushed when “the factory” was bank, dispensary, almost home, to its soil-born dependents. Old wells and countless vats are to be seen everywhere in parganahs Bilhaur and Salempur. The present zamindars neglect to repair the wells even where most required; and, except when let to Baniyas, the vats are never used.

During the currency of Mr. Newnham's settlement the district was unfortunate in the revenue officers appointed to watch over its interests. Mr. Newnham was succeeded by Mr. Ravenscroft, who held charge of the district for seven years; Messrs. Grant, Christian, and Swetenham holding office for short periods intermediately. Mr. Ravenscroft rendered himself notorious by entering largely into rash cotton speculations, and when it became necessary to fulfil his obligations, he did not hesitate to appropriate Rs. 2,74,853 out of the Government treasury for that purpose. When the defalcation was discovered Mr. Ravenscroft fled into Oudh and lived for nine months near Fyzabad. He was discovered and a party sent to apprehend him, but he escaped and secreted himself near the Nepal frontier at Bhinja, on the left bank of the Rapti river, in the Gonda district, where his residence was concealed from the Oudh Government by the local authorities. The local Raja made over to him a portion of land for tillage and a suitable site in a mango grove for his house, which he constructed after native fashion. The eldest

son, however, of the Rāja—a morose person who led a secluded life—became alarmed when he saw Mr. Ravenscroft begin to plant indigo and prepare to construct vats for the manufacture, and apprehended that he would go on encroaching till he took the whole estate. He therefore hired a gang of bandits and had him foully murdered. Ravenscroft and a friend staying with him, Ensign Platts, made a desperate resistance, for out of the twenty-nine men who composed the party when the attack commenced, seven had been killed and eighteen wounded. An investigation was twice set on foot, the first one failing through the perfunctory character of the enquiry made, and the Government remained satisfied that the Rāja had nothing to do with the murder. Mr. Ravenscroft's tomb was built at the expense of Government. “Mr. Ravenscroft,” says General Sleeman (from whose work the above particulars are chiefly obtained), “was the handsomest and most athletic European gentleman then in India, and one of the most expert in the use of the sword and shield: his hospitality was lavish and notorious. I have been told by the son of Mr. Ravenscroft's diwān that his chief delight was in cock-fighting, and that he lost as much as Rs. 40,000 in one year by that amusement. The diwān warned Mr. Ravenscroft of the danger of appropriating Government money, but Mr. Ravenscroft replied that his father had a large estate in England. So seeing the impending crash, the prudent official obtained sick leave in order to be absent when it came. Mr. Ravenscroft was also remarkable for his devotion to scientific cultivation and endeavours to improve by model farms (as is again the fashion) the agricultural system of the country. The letter in which he addresses the Governor-General is so characteristic of the style of official correspondence in those days, as well as illustrative of Mr. Ravenscroft's own views, that I give it *in extenso*:¹—

“The celebrated Sully calls agriculture one of the breasts from which the State draws its nourishment. That great man could not possibly have given us a more happy simile. Instructing by precepts, stimulating by rewards, he prevailed upon his countrymen to cultivate the art of husbandry. Your lordship's discerning mind will point out to you in an instant the aptness of this simile to the source of wealth in India, from whence spring for the most part the revenues of the State. Although no public encouragement has at any period been given by the English Government to agriculture, either by the erection of societies or the institution of rewards, yet substantial proof is afforded in the amount of revenue produced for ages from land in the eastern hemisphere, that husbandry is with its inhabitants the oldest, the most useful, as well as the best cultivated of the arts. At the present period your lordship will find that about 18 lakhs of bighas of land under the plough give a clear revenue to the State of more than 27 lakhs of rupees, besides a profit of 15 per cent. to the leasers and renters of land, making the total amount of rents so yield a round sum of about 31 lakhs. The labour also and the expenses of the husbandman or actual cultivator of the soil is to be taken into the scale

¹ Dated 26th September, 1814.

of consideration. To do this it is only necessary to calculate the produce of crops throughout the district at large, which, from the best sources of information I have been able to examine, give an average of four maunds (*sic*), or 8 bushels, to the bigha, and as 2 bighas may in general be said to equal an English acre of 4,840 square yards, the average will be about 16 bushels per acre. The produce, therefore, of the crops amounts to one hundred and forty lakhs of bushels, or seventy lakhs of maunds of grain. Supposing the whole of the arable land to be under crops of that nature, and taking the average of the market throughout the year at one rupee per maund upon all kinds of grain, the gross produce of crops may be calculated at seventy lakhs of rupees per annum.

"Bringing under your consideration that the average crops of twenty of the eastern counties of England give only 24 bushels to the acre, your lordship will allow that this is a flattering picture of the success of agriculture in the East, the beauty of which, however, so far as concerns the art of husbandry and the improvement of the soil, is solely to be attributed to the skill of the inhabitants. With even their rude implements and a weak farming stock they make the grateful earth teem with plenty: for in this propitious clime she returns the favours bestowed upon her, small as they may be, with tenfold bounty. The fostering hand of the Government or the enterprise of individuals among the European part of the community has in no single instance or at no period been held forth to the support or to the improvement of the practical agriculture of India. Passionately devoted to this delightful art, I was, however, lately the humble instrument of establishing the first society of this kind since the time that a British foot was planted on the soil, called the Ferozgarh Agricultural Society, the president of which is Sir Edward Colbrooke, but I fear it will languish from want of proper support from the Government in allotting land for experiment; when this support is afforded, under your lordship's auspices, by the institution of a "national farm" of about 500 acres, the cause of agriculture will have a better chance of flourishing. In the event of your lordship being pleased to adopt a measure which promises the greatest benefit to the western provinces, and of Bithûr, in the vicinity of which there is excellent land, being fixed upon as the spot for experimental husbandry, I pledge myself to cover the expenses of every nature, which, I am well convinced from the experience of my own little farm, will be more than reimbursed by the crops. It remains then for your lordship, as the representative of our beloved sovereign, to step forward in imitation of the royal exertions of the most spirited agriculturist England can boast of, and to give public encouragement to agriculture. When the Romans made the most illustrious appearance husbandry was in the highest estimation among them. "In those happy days," says Pliny, "the earth, pleased at seeing herself cultivated by victorious hands, seemed to make stronger efforts, and to produce her fruits in greater abundance. But when destructive luxury was introduced, then husbandry declined, and with it fell the Roman virtue." Among the French nation, under the genial influence of their king, societies were erected in every province. Men of the first distinction also in England do not disdain the cultivation of their own land. Let us, my lord, imitate the virtues of our countrymen; let us put our hands to the plough and emulate them in the field of industry, and in improving this first source of national wealth; such pursuits have graced the public life of ancient heroes: may they be recorded in the annals of a British Governor-General."

Mr. Ravenscroft also submitted a scheme to Government¹ for the measurement of the entire district, which he undertook to effect in the space

¹ Dated 31st February, 1816.

of a year and at a cost of Rs. 44,500. He stated that he had by tentative measurements clearly proved that the returns of cultivated area were absolutely incorrect, and that some proprietors by concealment of their true assets were enjoying, not fifteen, but thirty and forty per cent. of the gross rental. Mr. Ravenscroft was indeed an example of energy misapplied, and talent vitiated by a lax morality.

Mr. Wemyss took charge of the district in 1823, but in 1832 assistance was considered necessary, and Mr. Reade was appointed. He had no easy task to perform. Old revenue and takavi balances had accumulated to a large amount; the files were crowded with suits; the register of the transfer of property had been much neglected. Suits for rent, on the speedy decision of which depended in a great measure the punctual realization of the revenue, were, many of them, of an old date. The estates held under direct management were suffering from neglect, and the records were so imperfect and without arrangement that it was often difficult to find out what cases were pending. The records of this period show that the exertions made by Mr. Reade to bring the revenue department into a sound and wholesome state were very great. Indeed that officer was unwearied in his application. He found considerable balances due for the few years previous to which he took charge, and to these he more particularly applied himself. The sale process he found was no longer dreaded, since no sale of an estate being sanctioned, the process became a dead letter. The Government, fearful of falling into the extreme of former years, seemed unwilling to countenance them. It was quite proper to guard against abuses, but judiciously done, the sale process would have been very effectual. Mr. Reade urged on the Board the necessity of making some examples. He therefore selected some estates of the most notorious defaulters and proposed their sale, which the Board sanctioned. The measure was carried through with vigour, and the effect was surprising. Estates were also farmed under Regulation IX. of 1825, and the sanction of Government obtained, which in cases of this kind had rarely been done before; several severe examples being thus made, they were followed by the willing obedience of all; where balances were irrecoverable they were recommended for remission and struck off; when they could be fairly recovered, arrangements were made for their gradual liquidation. The very inefficient establishments were remodelled, each parganah was visited, and every measure which good policy could devise was resorted to. Thus were laid the foundations of a sound revenue system whose effects remain to this day.

The district now underwent the most fearful visitation that it had ever experienced—the great *chaurānawe* famine. The effect of this calamity upon the district has been described at page 38. It was specially inopportune, as it preceded by but a year the revision of settlement, and necessarily gave the observer a false idea of the normal condition of the district.

The settlement of 1840 was effected by Mr. Rose.¹ In this district some measurements had been made and some investigations had been entered into upon the principles laid down by Regulation VII. of 1822, but their application in full had been found to be so searching in details, and to require so long a time for completion, that the modified system sanctioned by Regulation IX. of 1833 was adopted: that is to say, the settlement was made with those in possession; those not in possession, but having claims, being referred to the civil courts. The professional survey, to show the boundaries of each estate and the quantity of cultivated, culturable, and barren waste it contained, was undertaken by Captain Abbott. This was succeeded by the *khasra* survey of the native *amins* , who mapped each field, recording in their field-book (*khasra*) its number, owner, occupant, soil, crop, and whether irrigated or dry. Writing in 1839-40, only two years after the famine, Mr. Rose expressed his astonishment at the flourishing appearance of the district; that “it must excite the wonder of all who had witnessed the utter state of ruin to which it was reduced by the famine. That it was more from the number of unroofed and ruined houses than from the decrease of cultivation that a stranger could suppose that the country had been visited so recently by such an awful calamity.” Still he found reason to believe that the district had not regained its former prosperity, that there had been a general reduction in rent-rates, and that the worse qualities of outlying lands had been allowed to fall waste. He, moreover, soon discovered that the entries of soil made by the survey officials were unworthy of acceptance, and that the entries of irrigation were absolutely untrustworthy. He therefore employed the local officials in the classification of soils, and had the irrigation entries thoroughly re-tested, and, as he believed, correctly entered. But it has already been stated that even the revised irrigation returns of Mr. Rose’s settlement were excessive. Whilst Mr. Rose carefully enquired what irrigated lands had escaped entry, he neglected to test whether the land recorded as irrigated was really so or not. For instance, the land on the banks of the

¹ See his report in Set. Rep., II^d Part I., 346.

larger streams and tanks was entered as irrigated, although in average years those streams and tanks dry up early in the season ; and moreover, as admitted by Mr. Rose in his unprinted reports, the land along rivers, though irrigable, was so sandy as to be cultivated only with inferior rain crops ; that is, a large area of confessedly unirrigated land was classed as irrigable, and presumably assessed as such.

The principles on which Mr. Rose worked were in other respects most thorough. His first object was to determine whether the existing assessment was too high, or whether an increase might fairly be taken. In doing this he was chiefly influenced by three considerations—the existing revenue rates, the regularity of the collections, and the means employed in realising the demand, with its influence on the condition of the people. The first test, or that of existing rates, had never been applied before, because there never was before a measurement which could be relied upon, nor was there material available regarding the assessments in other districts corresponding in soil, situation, facilities of irrigation, and character and condition of the people from which any valuable comparison could be drawn. Mr. Rose compared the revenue rates prevailing in Cawnpore with those obtaining in the Allahabad, Fatehpur, and Aligarh districts, with the result that he found the Cawnpore assessment high, and concluded that the existing demand was severe in its incidence. In this opinion he was borne out by the history of the collection of the land revenue. He found that the revenue remitted and suspended since the acquisition of the district amounted to Rs. 20,26,000, giving an annual deficiency of about Rs. 56,000. Still, as about one-half of the above sum must be set down as loss due to bad seasons, this second test could not be regarded as conclusive, and Mr. Rose relied more upon his third test, “the means employed in realising the revenue and the condition of the people as affected thereby.” Referring to his opinion on the effect of Regulation I of 1821 already quoted, he goes on to say :—“Granting, what cannot be denied, that native fraud and European incompetency in a great measure influenced the proceedings which drew down that enactment, yet it must also, I think, be admitted that, without an unfair degree of taxation, the extensive transfers which then took place could scarcely have been effected : in many cases no doubt sales were enforced irregularly ; in many more harshly and hastily ; but still in every case there was some balance, or pretext of a balance ; and in a moderately assessed district, surely the malguzárs, seeing that the revenue authorities were ready to seize on the slightest grounds for a sale, would,

by prompt payments, have prevented even a pretext for the sweeping transfers which took place previous to 1821, and which, if unchecked, would in a few years longer have annihilated all the ancient tenures in the district. Of late years a milder and more just system of revenue administration has prevented the frequent occurrence of revenue sales; but it must not therefore be inferred that land tenures have become permanent. Not a month passes without a long list of sales being held by order of the civil court, almost all of which, being in satisfaction of decrees for advances made by the village mahájans to the zamíndars, to enable the latter to fulfil their engagements with the Government, are in fact revenue sales in another shape. Neither has the abolition of revenue sales had the effect intended by the Board of protecting collateral rights; for these continue to be sacrificed under the sales of the civil court to nearly the same extent as they formerly suffered from the revenue process.

"In no district that I am acquainted with has there been such a rapid and extensive change of landed property as in Cawnpore. A few wealthy Muhammadans and resident Hindu bankers have possessed themselves of one-third of the district, and the fact that land yielding Rs. 1,37,000 has been sold under decrees of the civil court within the last five years shows that the tendency to change has not ceased. In short, could I present an exact statement of all the transfers springing from the Government demand which have taken place in Cawnpore under the British Government, I believe that it would show that at least three-fourths of the landed property of the district have changed owners within the last thirty years. It may be objected that the investment of the capital of monied men in landed property is a proof that the assessment cannot be severe, but the objection has not much weight. The persons who have extensively acquired lands are either resident Muhammadans who have amassed large fortunes in the service of our Government and that of Oudh, or Hindu bankers of Cawnpore. To the former, precluded by their religion from banking and usurious dealings, land naturally presents itself as the only safe investment for their capital; and the convenience of having the property near their homes counterbalances the disadvantages of a high assessment. The latter have no desire to acquire land, and avoid the purchase thereof whenever they can; but tempted by the enormous interest which their difficulties compel the proprietors to offer on loans, and deceived by the apparent security afforded by the land itself, they are induced to make advances, until the land becoming involved beyond its value, they have

ultimately only the option of taking the property in lieu of their claim, or of foregoing everything. But I do not mean to argue that all the estates recently acquired by monied proprietors are losing ones. Several I know were originally profitable, and many more have been made so by the capital and skill of the present possessors. All I mean to urge is that the *malguzári* profits were not sufficient to enable the ancient proprietors of the soil to fulfil their engagements and retain their possessions, and that had it not been for the fortuitious circumstances which caused the investment of foreign capital in land, a reduction of assessment would, long ere this, have been forced upon the Government. I have thus shown that by the three tests which I proposed to lay down for my guidance, or at all events by the two more important of the three, that the existing assessment was found to be high in the aggregate."

The following is a summary of the plan adopted by Mr. Rose for distributing and determining the assessment:—

"The *tahsildárs* were called upon to divide their *parganahs* into so many classes, as there were known or marked variations of soil and country, or to state, if no such variations existed. In making out these divisions the *tahsildárs* were not allowed arbitrarily to form a class from detached villages, which would have afforded an opening for much favour and fraud, but were compelled to mark off distinctly on the *parganah* map the limits of each class and to explain the supposed causes of the variations of value.

"On receiving the reports of the *tahsildárs* the supposed classes were subjected to minute enquiry and various tests. If the result showed that the *tahsildárs'* higher classes possessed a greater extent of irrigation, and a larger proportion of the better crops than the lower; and if those advantages were not counterbalanced by disadvantages of situation or habits of the cultivators, then the division of the *tahsildárs* was confirmed. But if the result was different, the *tahsildárs'* proceedings were cancelled and a fresh classification was made, or the *parganah* was thrown into one class, as might appear proper.

"In many *parganahs* the classes were at once pointed out by old and known denominations of country. Thus the '*bhúr und jawar kismat*' of Bilhanr and the '*kachár dehat*' of Bitbúr spoke for themselves. Whenever also a stream or tract of elevated land, or visible local variation marked the changes of country, the classifications of the *tahsildárs* were found to be correct. But when they attempted to divide the *parganahs* into classes without such distinctive marks for their guidance, they generally fell into error.

"In Rasúlábád, for instance, it was found in analyzing the *tahsildár's* classes that his third or lowest class was better irrigated and more highly cultivated than his second, and his second than his first. The cause of this inverse classification was obvious. The soils and irrigation of the three classes were much the same; but the revenue rates of the *tahsildár's* third and second classes being out of all proportion high as compared with his first, and the lower classes having consequently suffered much more from over-assessment than the higher, the *tahsildár* had classed them according to their present condition, overlooking the fact that their condition was affected by the assessment, and not by any variations of soil or situation. Here of course

no division of classes was required; and that was necessary being to bring the second and third classes to an equality with the first and to reduce the whole. . . .

"Having determined the classification, the next step was to fix the amount of increase or decrease on each class. In determining this, the regularity of the collections, the condition of the people, the fertility of the soil, the situations of the villages, the extent of irrigation, the proportion of valuable produce, and the habits of the cultivators were all taken into consideration. The existing rates were carefully and extensively compared with those of similar classes in Cawnpore, and similar parganahs in other districts; nor were the opinions and estimates of the local native officers disregarded when reliance could be placed on their intelligence, local information, and integrity. Having made up my mind as to the amount of reduction or increase proper to be allowed or demanded in each class, the third step was to deduce from the rent-rates of a few fairly assessed mahals in each class the revenue-rate per acre on irrigated and unirrigated land which should form the basis of the new jama of each village. If the revenue-rates so deduced gave a gross assessment agreeing or nearly agreeing with the demand, which in the cases mentioned in the preceding para. I had previously determined on, these, the deduced rates, were adhered to. But if, as not unfrequently happened, in consequence of the very high rent-rates prevalent in this district, the lower rent-rates were not sufficiently moderate to enable me to deduce therefrom fair revenue-rates, then I discarded the rent-rates entirely, and fixed my revenue-rates with reference to those which had been found applicable in similar divisions of this or the neighbouring districts."

The financial result of the settlement was a total decrease on the whole district of Rs. 1,57,859. From this, however, should be deducted the amount assessed on land held previously free of revenue (Rs. 49,467), the net decrease on the total demand for the district as it now stands being Rs. 1,08,392.

Mr. Rose equalized the assessments, and whilst relieving the industrious, and therefore hitherto highly taxed proprietors, such as the Result of Mr. Rose's settlement. • Kurnis, made the idle and troublesome landholder pay his full share of the burthen. Where estates had barely recovered from the effects of the famine he imposed a progressive revenue demand. Revenue-free tenures were resumed and assessed at one-fourth lower than the general parganah rate. A record of rights was prepared, and the establishment of patwaris or village accountants was revised. No previous settlement had been conducted on such thoroughly intelligent principles, yet the experience of two years proved that, notwithstanding the large reductions, the assessment was too high and the revenue was paid with difficulty. Mr Rose had exaggerated the power of the district to recover from the effects of the famine, and had included in his cultivated area land thrown out of cultivation for two preceding years, in the expectation that it would immediately be again brought under the plough. It was at length found necessary to appoint Mr. Allen to revise the assessment—a difficult task, which he completed most judiciously.

He permanently reduced the revenue by Rs. 32,326 with temporary relief to the amount of Rs. 57,347. The following statement shows the revenue imposed on the different parganahs at present forming the district from the cession to Mr. Rose's settlement :—

District.	Revenue of 1st settlement.	Revenue of 2nd settlement	Revenue of 3rd settlement	Revenue of 4th settlement.	Revenue of 5th settlement.
	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.
Bilhaur	2,21,341	2,16,243	2,15,061	2,13,311	1,98,469
Shiurajpur	3,31,452	3,07,215	3,01,731	2,91,539	2,73,705
Jajman	3,24,023	3,08,037	2,90,496	2,98,049	3,02,123
Rasulabad	2,22,023	2,18,170	2,21,354	2,16,931	1,98,442
Akbarpur	2,29,486	2,24,512	2,20,471	2,20,665	2,14,668
Sarh-Salempur	2,79,828	2,65,945	2,36,045	2,52,136	2,32,773
Derapur	1,43,435	1,39,633	1,34,443	1,31,874	1,27,426
Sikandra	1,53,347	1,50,846	1,66,912	1,32,958	1,33,575
Rhognipur	2,10,516	2,08,317	2,06,901	2,16,059	1,93,346
Ghatampur	3,53,455	3,47,132	3,32,867	3,08,161	3,02,256
Total	24,69,046	23,86,090	23,16,301	23,21,683	21,81,774

The merits of Mr. Rose's settlement are shown by the fact that only nineteen estates were sold for arrears of revenue and twenty-three were temporarily transferred in farm. Some indirect effect, however, had been produced by the pressure of the Government demand, which forced proprietors to borrow for the purpose of meeting the instalments in the event of short crops or calamities which did not call for special relief by remission. We find that 62 per cent. of the cultivated area permanently changed hands during the currency of Mr. Rose's settlement, whilst 8 per cent. was temporarily transferred. Mr. Wright, however, does not think that these transfers necessarily indicate an excessive demand, except perhaps in the earlier years of the settlement, when the effects of former over-assessment were still felt. In the first place, he attributes many of the transfers to the fact that property which, as in Sikandra, had no saleable value, became marketable after Mr. Rose's revision, when naturally creditors realized their outstanding debts. He also thinks that the system of British rule, which rigorously insists on payments being made regularly and punctually, and encourages and protects trade and industry, inevitably tends in India, as elsewhere, to the ruin of old non-industrious families, to whom under the native government punctuality and regularity of payment were unknown, and who, when there was nothing to pay with,

resisted the demand. The industrious, on the other hand, under the auspices of a powerful Government have increased their wealth, and have necessarily stepped into the place of the thriftless borrowing classes—Thākurs, Muhammadans, Kāyaths &c. The largest transfers have taken place in those parganahs where trade and industry are most active and the general prosperity is at its highest; whilst the selling value of the cultivated acre has risen in private sales from Rs. 8-9-11 to Rs. 26-0-9, and in public sales from Rs. 6-5-8 to Rs. 17-9-2 per acre, or from 3½ years' to 10½ years' purchase of revenue for private transfers, and 2½ to 7 years' for public sales. These figures Mr. Wright does not think alarming, and he is of opinion that further transfers must be expected, and will naturally follow, on the increased value given to landed property by the present revision of settlement. Nor does Mr. Wright condemn the new proprietary body. He considers them greatly superior to the poverty-stricken Musalmān or Kāyath, who cannot support their tenantry during the pressure of any calamity, and whilst he regrets the dissolution of the old bond between the tenant of the soil and his old feudal landlord, he considers the place of the latter not unprofitably taken by the well-to-do Brahman, who is by no means so universally non-resident as the money-lender is represented to be.

The settlement just concluded was commenced by Mr. Buck in 1869, but

Settlement of 1870-77

work was stopped till 1870, from which time till 1877 the work of measurement, inspection, assessment, and preparation of the record of rights was uninterruptedly carried on. The principles on which it has been framed are identical with those adopted by Mr. Rose, the only apparent difference being in the fact that whilst Mr. Rose worked from the general to particulars, the present settlement has been based mostly on an accumulation of particulars which have been used for comparison and generalization. The survey conducted by Mr. Wright has given an area closely agreeing with that of the professional survey, and from a careful system of check and supervision has given statistics of area, crops, and irrigation as nearly approaching correctness as the machinery would admit of. Before assessment every village, and every portion of a village, was minutely inspected by the assessing officer, and a large amount of detailed information on every subject connected with the economical and physical conditions of the country was thereby accumulated.

The following statement compares the land revenue of 1840, as realized in the year of revision of settlement of each successive parganah, with the revised revenue, and also shows the extraordinary receipts, namely, under the old settlement, road, postal, and other

cesses; under Act XVIII. of 1871, the 10 per cent cess and the patwaris' fees now resulting from the revision of revenue:—

Name of parganah.	Revenue without cesses in 1840				Revenue with cesses in 1840.			
	Revenue	Sayer items.	Patwaris' fees	Total	Revenue.	Cesses.	Patwaris' fees.	Total.
	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs. a	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.
Bilhaur ...	1,90,832	2,392 0	6,855 0	2,00,079 0	1,89,148	18,915	6,855	2,14,918
Shurajpur ...	2,75,376	3,767 0	10,062 0	2,89,205 0	2,74,643	27,464	10,115	3,12,222
Jajman ...	2,96,492	4,304 0	10,989 0	3,11,725 0	2,91,575	29,158	10,908	3,31,641
Rashtabad ...	1,91,557	8,286 0	7,329 0	2,07,172 0	1,91,557	19,156	7,329	2,18,042
Akbarpur ...	2,09,691	3,315 0	7,751 0	2,20,757 0	2,19,424	20,942	7,751	2,38,117
Sah-Salempur ...	2,36,591	4,384 0	8,674 0	2,49,599 0	2,35,844	23,555	8,635	2,68,034
Derapur ...	2,54,676	5,596 4	9,469 9	2,69,741 13	1,21,548	12,155	4,507	1,38,210
Sikandra ...	1,90,167	3,932 0	7,349 0	2,01,448 0	1,32,692	13,269	4,963	1,50,924
Bhogpur ...	2,94,256	5,904 0	11,017 0	3,11,177 0	1,84,848	18,985	7,349	2,16,182
Ghatampur ...	2,94,256	5,904 0	11,017 0	3,11,177 0	2,94,127	29,418	11,061	3,34,601
District total	21,39,638	41,830 4	79,435 9	22,60,903 13	21,30,406	2,13,042	79,473	24,22,921

Name of parganah.	Revenue fixed for thirty years.				Quinquennial assessments				Total.
	Revenue	Cesses.	Patwaris' fees	Total	Revenue	Cesses.	Patwaris' fees.	Total.	
	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs. a	Rs. a.	Rs. a.	Rs. a.	Rs. a.	
Bilhaur ...	1,94,110	19,411 0	2,705 8	2,23,226 8	60 0	6 0	3 0	69 0	2,23,295 8
Shurajpur ...	2,74,220	27,422 0	13,710 0	3,15,352 0	627 8	63 0	31 0	721 8	3,16,073 8
Jajman ...	2,48,848	24,884 8	12,284 8	2,86,012 0	14,340 0	1,434	691 8	16,465 8	3,02,477 8
Rashtabad ...	1,95,750	19,575 0	9,787 8	2,25,112 8	...	...	...	...	2,25,112 8
Akbarpur ...	2,22,675	22,268 0	11,135 0	2,56,078 0	...	...	...	...	2,56,078 0
Sah-Salempur ...	2,28,260	22,826 0	11,426 0	2,62,512 0	610 0	61 0	30 8	701 8	2,63,213 8
Derapur ...	1,41,030	14,103 0	13,900 0	3,21,542 8	...	...	...	...	3,21,542 8
Sikandra ...	1,38,645	13,864 8	10,691 0	2,43,319 0	...	...	...	...	2,43,319 0
Bhogpur ...	2,11,400	21,140 0	14,873 0	3,35,128 0	...	...	...	...	3,35,128 0
Ghatampur ...	2,92,050	29,205 0	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
District ...	21,47,063	2,14,702 0	1,107,512 0	24,69,282 8	15,587 0	1,558 4	750 8	17,900 8	24,69,282 8

The total demand has therefore been enhanced by two lakhs, but the actual increase in land revenue is only Rs. 36,307. A large increase could not, in Mr. Wright's opinion, be expected. In a country always densely populated, closely cultivated, and thoroughly irrigated there was little room for enhancement, whether due to competition, extension of cultivation, or increased facilities for irrigation. A rise in prices has had only temporary effect, or where permanent, has in but a small degree affected rents already high by comparison with other districts. The revised settlement came into force as follows: in Akbarpur from the *rabi*, and in Bilhaur from the *kharif* of 1282 *faski*, in Shiurajpur, Jajmau, Rasulabad, Sarh Salempur and Derapur from the *kharif* of 1283 *faski*, in Sikandra from the *rabi* of 1283; in Ghâtampur from the *rabi*, and in Bhognipur from the *kharif* of 1284 *faski*. The following statement shows the revenue demand, collections and balances for several years since the mutiny, and proves that the collections have been regularly made since the mutiny —

Year	Demand.	Collections	Balances.	PARTICULARS OF BALANCE				Percentage of balance on demand.
				Rs.				
				In train of liquidation.	Doubtful.	Irrecoverable	Nominal.	
Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	
1860-61	21,33,328	21,29,269	4,059	1,712	...	...	2,347	19
1862-63	21,44,119	21,33,875	10,244	1,625	...	...	8,619	47
1864-65	21,39,415	21,36,307	3,108	251	...	...	2,847	14
1866-67	21,37,757	21,37,502	255	139	...	...	116	...
1868-69	21,39,264	21,38,666	592	102	...	...	496	...
1870-71	21,38,740	21,36,367	2,373	...	...	...	2,373	...
1872-73	21,36,736	21,34,970	11,766	1,136	4,152	4,292	2,346	...
1874-75	21,35,126	21,15,168	19,958	2,666	2,810	3,566	2,346	...
1876-77	21,35,323	21,12,870	21,253	1,318	422	1,349	2,346	...
1878-79	21,35,323	21,24,168	9,155	...	...	...	2,346	...

Temper.

The proprietary tenures in the district are now (1877)
distributed as follows :-

Statement showing proprietary tenures as now classified.

Name of par- ganah.	ZAMINDARI.			PERFECT PATTIDARI.			IMPERFECT PATTIDARI			BHAYACHARI.		
	No of mahals.	Area in acres.	Revenue	No of mahals.	Area in acres.	Revenue.	No of mahals.	Area in acres.	Revenue.	No of mahals.	Area in acres.	Revenue.
			Rs.			Rs.			Rs.			Rs.
Bilhar	77	27,061	78,500	23	9,963	29,030	62	29,053	83,510	1	387	1,100
Shivstipur	325	62,321	1,82,077	29	7,033	20,360	93	23,961	72,410	..	..	..
Jajman	281	70,488	2,01,211	20	5,987	19,180	35	15,374	42,940	..	..	..
Rashtabad	106	42,539	1,15,610	26	12,327	35,120	35	14,764	38,430	1	2,172	6,600
Atbarpur	112	55,152	1,41,863	24	8,317	31,728	54	22,403	59,084	..	..	..
Sach Balamapur	137	39,673	1,14,610	40	19,516	58,410	38	18,732	55,850	..	..	..
Barapur	96	28,179	73,940	14	3,340	8,320	56	22,228	57,410	..	..	..
Sikandra	129	34,810	69,281	24	7,980	16,833	70	24,381	50,561	4	1,058	2,900
Bhogalpur	183	66,096	1,26,560	20	8,473	16,090	59	32,771	64,980	2	1,716	3,350
Chhatnagar	171	75,820	1,45,490	34	22,397	52,920	62	41,630	81,640	7	8,537	2,190
Total	1,717	892,109	12,32,141	254	106,373	2,76,591	664	215,617	6,08,435	15	11,870	37,430

No special remark is necessary with respect to any of the above tenures except those classed as bhayachára. In the villages held on this tenure the extent of each sharer's rights is limited by the land of which he is actually in possession, and the liabilities of the sharer are represented by a cess called *barár* or *bdchh*, in some estates immutable and bearing no exact relation in quality or quantity to the land occupied by him. In others, a periodical revision of right and liabilities takes place on the occasion of any considerable alteration in the status of an estate—e.g., where a large area becomes fallow from drought, or a revised assessment is effected, a fresh *barár* is allotted over the different sharers, according to the quality of the land found to be occupied by them, each soil having its special and known rate. The record is also revised and names of mortgagees entered, no record hitherto having been made except in the patwári's diary. In most bhayachára estates no sale ever takes place, the above mutation of names being the only transfer resorted to. If any sharer abscond his land is made over to his nearest relation to account for. Village expenses are distributed in exact proportion to the *barár*, and any profit from common land, or the *shár* or miscellaneous revenue, are divided also in accordance with the *barár*. Each sharer in the estates that line the Jumna has a right corresponding to his *barár* in any land added by alluvion; and to maintain this right whilst carrying out the instructions for forming lands subject to alluvion and diluvion into a separate mahal is a matter of some difficulty. As might be expected, from the account of the fiscal changes that have occurred in the district, the zamíndári tenure greatly preponderates. This is due to the great number of estates sold for arrears of revenue, and which it once passed from pattidári to zamíndári; secondly, to the sale of the rights and interests under decrees of the civil courts; and thirdly, to the numerous illegal and fraudulent transfers which took place during the earlier years of the British rule. Even now the entire tendency of our laws and institutions is to convert all tenures into zamíndári when the entire revenue and charges from the estate are included in one account and distributed according to the individual interests of the sharers. In pure pattidári the land is divided off, and the owner pays a fixed share of the charges; and in imperfect pattidári a portion is divided off complete and a portion is held in common.

The history of the only taluqa in the district deserves some notice here in connection with tenures as well from its bearing on Taluka Shindajpur. the fortunes of the great Chandel clan, since it illustrates an important chapter in the story of our fiscal administration in these provinces. I will therefore briefly describe how the Rája of Shindajpur was

ousted from his position as talukadár of the Shikrájpur pargánah and how the settlement was made with the subordinate proprietors or mukaddams. The position of the Rájá first became a subject of controversy in 1819 A D, Mr. Robertson, who so staunchly pleaded the cause of the old proprietary body, in his protests against the sales on account of arrears of revenue, held that the cultivators were the real proprietors; whilst Mr. Newnham, who in cleansing Cawnpore emulated the Augean labours of Hercules, considered that the Rájá as talukadár was absolute proprietor. Up to this time engagements had been taken direct from the Rájá for the entire taluka, but during the minority of Muhendar Singh the villages had been farmed to the mukaddams; and though subsequently on Muhendar Singh's majority he was admitted to engage for a term of five years, on Mr. Robertson's recommendation the settlement was made direct with the mukaddams, an allowance of one-twelfth of the revenue being assigned to the Rájá as malikána. In 1833-34 Mr. J. W. Muir was deputed to investigate, amongst other matters, the exact status of talukadar and mukaddam. He considered, with advertence to the sanads held by the Rájá, on which the title of zamíndár had been first recognized by Akbar, and had been maintained in uninterrupted succession till the incursions of the Marhattas, that the right of the Rájá to the zamíndári was established. In this view he was supported by Mr. Reale, who, however, deprecated any change being made in the relative positions of talukadár and mukaddam, which had now stood a fifteen years' trial. Engagements were accordingly taken from the mukaddams in 1834-35.

The general question was again raised at the direct instance of Government, and Mr. Rose, the settlement officer, was deputed to conduct the inquiries made in the district of Cawnpore. In his report dated 22nd August, 1840, he expressed his belief that the mukaddams were the real proprietors, and wrote as follow :—

"We find the Rájá's first connexion with the parganah dating from 1594 A D.; there were then 95 villages, each of course possessing its proprietary community. The sanads which connect the Rájá with the parganah show that his privilege consisted of a money assignment out of the revenue. Traditional history informs us that the ancient proprietors were Rájputs, Karmis, and Lodhas. We find persons of those tribes constantly cultivating at low rates, frequently through one of their members styled mukaddam, in possession of the malgusári management, and, whenever in malguzari possession, reverting to their ancient institutions, and sharing the profits under all the various forms of proprietary tenures which are known to exist in this part of the country. Eighty-six out of the 113 estates in the parganah are held under the various shades of patidári tenure, and exhibit all the peculiarities and variations which characterize the oldest proprietary tenures in the country. Holdings such as these afford better evidence in support of proprietary rights than could be obtained from a thousand oral depositions

They are evidently not the result of fabrication or ingenuity, but have derived their origin from the necessities and exigencies which in the course of time frequent secessions and subdivisions of property have brought to bear on the village communities. It appears to me that this is an unbroken chain of evidence in favour of proprietary mukaddami rights as, under the circumstances of the parganah, we can look to obtain."

After noticing at some length the opinions expressed by Mr. J. W. Muir and Mr. E. A. Reade, he comes to the following conclusion:—

"Thus we see that there is actually no difference whatever in the conclusion which the Board of Revenue and the subordinate officers have come to. The Board of Revenue say the mukaddams are the representatives of proprietary communities. The subordinate officers say the Rája calls himself and has been called zamindar, therefore he is zamindar. The mukaddams call themselves, and have been called mukaddams, and therefore they are mukaddams. But when they come to define what rights are attached to the two denominations, they give to the mukaddams all that which the term proprietor is considered to denote, and they leave to the Rája a few miserable perquisites which are worth nothing. I am therefore of opinion that the persons called mukaddams are the representatives of the proprietors of the soil, and that, all and each of the proprietors whom they represent are entitled to the acknowledgment and free exercise of all the rights of proprietorship.

"I now come to consider the position of the Rája. We have seen that the connexion of the Rájas with the parganahs is dated from 1594 A.D., and that they hold under a royal sanad granting them Rs. 15,000 and one tinka on every cultivated bigha. It appears to me that a grant of this description is analogous to a rent-free tenure. In the one the whole revenue is alienated, in the other a portion thereof; and that on account of service to be received, for there is no doubt that the charge of collecting the whole revenue was undertaken by the talukadár. If this view of the case be correct, the Rája has certainly no valid right to any portion of the revenue, for the grant never was hereditary; it was discontinued under the Marhatta and Oudh Governments, and the service of collection, implied under the term zamindár, has ceased to be performed. But it appears to be felt that the perquisites and privileges of the talukadár, although usurped, have been so long acknowledged or tolerated, that suddenly to withdraw them without any remuneration in lieu thereof, and thereby to reduce a family of rank to poverty, would savour of hardship, and to avoid such an imputation the Government, in the cases of the Rája of Mursan in Aligarh and others, have continued to grant a personal money allowance open to revision on the death of the incumbent."

In forwarding Mr. Rose's report, the Commissioner, Mr. Lowther, gave a summary of Mr. Rose's conclusions, and considered the report so full and satisfactory that any further discussion touching the relative rights of the talukadár and the village communities would be superfluous. The settlement was accordingly made with the mukaddams or biswahdárs; but from that date commenced their ruin. Twenty estates were immediately sold; the Rája, by enforcing decrees for past arrears, or by instituting them for new defaults, himself purchasing twelve, and notwithstanding the regret of the Board that they could find no legal course by which to save them, and an ineffectual attempt by the Lieutenant-Governor to stay the proceedings of the civil courts, the process continued, with the result that, when Mr. Montgomery wrote in 1849, eighty-three

transfers had taken place in seventy villages, and at the present time 10,460 out of 34,162 acres have passed out of the hands of the mukaddams into those either of the Rájá (now succeeded by Government and its grantees) or of strangers. The mukaddams paid their revenue direct into the Government treasury, whence the Rájá drew his malikána allowance. On the confiscation of his estates for rebellion the malikána allowance was still realized from the mukaddams or the grantees of the Rájá's purchased estates; but the revised settlement has been made with them on the same terms as other proprietors.

The fate of the proprietors of parganah Sikandra, so similar to that of the mukaddams of Shiurájpur, is also worthy of some account in detail. The grant of this parganah was to have been conferred upon Himmat Bahádúr for political purposes, in order to withdraw him from Bundelkhand, when the pacification of that province was an object of great importance. On his demise before the issue of the sanad, similar considerations led to the grant being bestowed upon his illegitimate son Narindargír. On the demise of Narindargír in January, 1840, it became necessary to decide how far the succession was in future to be regulated by the precedent alleged to have been established in favour of the rights of illegitimate issue by the extension to him of what was originally intended for Himmat Bahádúr. The claimants to the succession were, firstly, Jai Indargír and Padam Indargír, the illegitimate sons of Narindargír; and secondly, Kán Indargír, a disciple (*chela*) of the deceased Rájá, declared by the Ráj Ráni to be an adopted son. The claims of Kán Indargír were set aside at once as inadmissible, it having been ruled by the Supreme Government that claims of adopted sons could not be acknowledged. With respect to the claims of the illegitimate sons, after some correspondence a resolution was recorded declaring that the *jáyá* had lapsed to Government by the failure of legitimate issue to Narindargír, but that the proceeds of the estate would in the spirit of the grant remain appropriated to the family of the late Rájá. The net proceeds, after deducting 20 per cent. to cover cost and risk of collections, were to be divided into three portions, one-third to be paid to the Ráj Ráni, widow of Narindargír, for life, and on her death to be divided equally between the two other sharers; the remaining two-thirds to be given in equal shares to Padam Indargír and Jai Indargír, the illegitimate children of the late Rájá by Muhammadan concubines. These pensions, inclusive of the reversion of the widow's share, were to be hereditary and held on the same terms as other hereditary pensions given to the members of the family of Rájá Himmat Bahádúr. Up to 1857 the proceeds of the estate were devoted to the liquidation of the heavy debts of Narindargír, but from that time the Ráj Ráni has enjoyed

the pension of one-third, amounting to Rs. 29,114 per annum. The stipends of Padam Indargir and Jai Indargir were confiscated for disloyalty, but a subsistence allowance of Rs. 100 per annum was granted for life.

Meanwhile, in 1839, during the lifetime of Narindargir, the question had been mooted whether the revenue authorities had any power to interfere with the *jágirdár's* arrangements, and by making village settlements to fix and limit the amount which he could demand from the village communities. The condition of the country had been so deteriorated, and the rights of the village communities had been so recklessly invaded under the Rájá's management, that the interference of Government was absolutely necessary. The Rájá had mortgaged the collections to his creditors, who considered themselves at liberty to raise the demand at their pleasure. The mode of collecting the revenue adopted by these temporary farmers was described as most ruinous. At the close of each agricultural year a bond was taken from the *malguzárs* for all outstanding arrears, with interest, the amount of which was credited from the assets of the ensuing year, before any current credits were allowed, so that there was always a large balance, with interest pending, over almost every estate in the *parganah*. These balance bonds enabled the farmers to obtain sales of *zamíndári* rights and appropriate any estate they might fancy, as no one would come into competition with them. The ordinary rules of attachment and sale appeared to be entirely neglected, and, in short, the acts of these people sometimes more resembled, says Mr. Rose, the inroads of *dakait*s than the proceedings of officers distraining property under the colour of the law.

The *jágir* was therefore resumed and a settlement was made by Mr. (now Sir William) Muir on the lowest possible scale, as affording the only chance of a return to prosperity after the thirty-four years of the Rájá's misrule, during the last sixteen of which three famines had occurred. Yet the result to the proprietors was the same as in *Shiurájpur*. The crushing exactions¹ of the *jágirdár* and the parties to whom he made over his property must have crippled the real proprietary in a fearful manner. Directly the lenient assessment of Mr. Muir came into force, property acquired a value it had not possessed for thirty-four years. Creditors sold up those in their power, and debtors sold off their estates to clear themselves; hence the large number of transfers during the first decennial period, amounting to almost half of the transfers during the whole period, of which, moreover, nearly the whole were permanent. The middle period had only half as many transfers altogether, whilst the third period has only half as many permanent transfers, but a large proportion of mortgages.

¹ Vide Mr. Muir's report, para. 8, and extract from Mr. Rose's letter in appendix thereto.

The following statement, compiled from the village histories, shows the position of the original settlers at four distinct periods:

Transfers.

(1) the first founding of the community; (2) at the cession; (3) at the settlement under Regulation IX. of 1833 in 1840; and (4) at the present revision of settlement. Each village is represented as a unit or rupee containing sixteen annas or shares, and the total number of villages is taken as 2,061. Under "purchased" is included all property acquired other than by hereditary descent:—

Transfer statement.

Period	Bass		Panvdr, including Uyena.		Chandel.		Gaur		Chauhán.		Goutam.		Gaharodr	
	Hereditary.	Purchased.	Hereditary.	Purchased.	Hereditary.	Purchased.	Hereditary.	Purchased.	Hereditary.	Purchased.	Hereditary.	Purchased.	Hereditary.	Purchased.
	as.	as.	as.	as.	as.	as.	as.	as.	as.	as.	as.	as.	as.	as.
First founding ...	2,040	...	1,086	...	4,736	...	5,320	...	656	...	1,523	...	800	...
Cession ..	1,621	56	787	69	4,424	171	4,478	96	1,016	96	1,088	126	744	68
Settlement of 1840,	1,225	470	577	34	2,682	417	2,695	339	927	215	749	145	544	71
Present revision ..	762	573	279	61	1,526	476	1,696	1,243	645	266	375	443	330	181

Period	Gahlot.		Other Thakurs.		Total Thakurs.		Brahman		Jaganbaner Brahman.		Káiyath.		Kurmi.	
	Hereditary.	Purchased.	Hereditary.	Purchased.	Hereditary.	Purchased.	Hereditary.	Purchased.	Hereditary.	Purchased.	Hereditary.	Purchased.	Hereditary.	Purchased.
	as.	as.	as.	as.	as.	as.	as.	as.	as.	as.	as.	as.	as.	as.
First founding ...	1,008	...	942	...	18,086	...	3,656	...	1,068	...	1,806	...	2,459	...
Cession	940	48	850	121	15,648	806	4,205	593	244	4	1,936	1,564	2,726	963
Settlement of 1840,	467	363	634	277	10,500	2,133	2,951	5,350	608	213	1,244	1,007	1,400	1,200
Present revision ..	330	128	480	631	5,322	4,084	2,331	7,523	300	300	300	1,437	1,400	1,320

Period	Ahr		Money lending classes		Miscellaneous		Musalmán, including Nan mās itm		Meo		Aryah		Percentage	
	Hereditary	Purchased	Hereditary	Purchased	Hereditary	Purchased	Hereditary	Purchased	Hereditary	Purchased	Hereditary	Purchased	Hereditary	Purchased
First founding	880	...	160	...	640	...	2,600	...	480	...	32,976	...	100 0	...
Cession	536	40	139	310	304	16	2,621	1,545	272	24	7,309	5 16 1/2	83 7	16 3
Settlement of 1840	442	156	88	1 14 1	200	511	1 702	3,454	215	85	19,827	18,148	60 0	40 0
Present revision	265	365	56	2,033	79	230	827	3 26 5	167	13 1/2	12 366	20,610	37 4	62 6

During the currency of the settlement made in 1840 the Bais have lost by confiscation the Sisamau estate, and have gained by the purchases of Mihrbán Singh in Kásgaon. The Panwárs, too, have lost heavily in Katra Makrandpur and the Gautams in Narwal, but the latter have gained by the purchases of Khagoti Singh. The Chandelis have lost by confiscation for rebellion, and the Gaurs have lost by confiscation the Nár estate, but have also gained by the purchases of the Khanpur family and the rewards conferred upon them for their loyal service. The remaining Thákurs are dying out as proprietors. Kurmis are gradually acquiring property, especially in Shiurájpur, Bilhaur, and Ghátampur, whilst Jagat Singh of Malása represents the chief purchaser amongst the Ahírs. The Musalmáns are fast losing their hold on the land and sinking into a thriftless body of non-cultivators. The Brahmans, on the whole, have been the chief gainers during the last thirty years.

In 1848 Mr. Montgomery writes that there were then 16,542 proprietors holding each, on an average, ninety acres of land, and paying for it a revenue of Rs. 130 a year to Government.

The following statement shows the cultivated area owned by each sharer at the recent settlement in even acres and the revenue paid in the nearest even rupees in certain villages in each parganah. Property is most minutely subdivided in parganahs Shiurájpur, Akbarpur, and Sikandra, and least subdivided in Jájman, Sárh Salempur, Bhognipur, and Ghátampur. In Shiurájpur the mukaddams contribute to the former result, in Akbarpur the Chatháns, in Sikandra the Meos. In Jájman 78 villages are owned by single proprietors; in Sárh a few of the Baises own several estates; in Bhognipur, Tiwári Súrj Parshád is a large proprietor.

1 Ghátampur the Jaganbansis have added estates to their hereditary patri-
mony :—

Statement showing cultivated area owned and revenue paid by
individual sharers.

Parganah.	No. of villages.	In villages owned by single proprietors.		In villages owned by two to four proprietors.		In villages owned by above four proprietors.		Entire proprietary.	
		Cultivated area owned by each sharer.	Revenue paid by each sharer.	Cultivated area owned by each sharer.	Revenue paid by each sharer.	Cultivated area owned by each sharer.	Revenue paid by each sharer.	Cultivated area owned by each sharer.	Revenue paid by each sharer.
		Acres.	Rs.	Acres.	Rs.	Acres.	Rs.	Acres.	Rs.
Bilhanr ...	34	658	1,589	168	518	26	76	37	109
Shiurájpur ...	62	732	2,072	134	413	22	65	35	105
Jáymau ...	72	599	1,761	179	512	33	94	60	174
Rasúlabad ...	22	443	1,216	190	532	32	88	49	133
Akbarpur ...	22	483	1,227	168	435	27	70	38	98
Sárh Salempur ...	35	719	2,025	132	396	58	171	78	228
Derapur ...	17	737	1,875	125	346	29	76	41	106
Sikandra ...	30	537	1,149	172	314	26	53	34	69
Bhognipur ...	67	1,027	2,021	219	431	39	76	65	126
Ghátampur ...	32	555	1,089	213	450	71	140	92	143
District ...	406	640	1,603	169	444	34	84	50	125

The few insignificant holdings which are *lakhiraj* or
Revenue-free tenures.
revenue-free are as follows :—

Statement showing revenue-free tenures.

Parganah.	Village	Kind.	Area.	Name of owner.
			A r p	
	Bithúr kalán ...		56 0 22	Shin Naráyan.
	" ...		20 1 4	Gopálrao Marhatta
	" ...		5 1 2	Beni and Kásim.
	Bithúr-khurá ...		18 0 23	Parwatam Rái.
	" ...		11 0 30	Fida Husain
	" ...		6 3 16	Biseshar Káyath.
	" ...		2 3 12	Gangabái, wife of Parso- tam Rái.
Jáymau ...	" ...		28 0 0	Fidali Ganga Putr.
	" ...		0 2 37	Sultán Singh and Ranjit Singh
	" ...		0 2 5	Hira Baniya.
	Arázi Lashkar ...		8 2 17	Raghu Indar Acharya.
	" ...		15 3 8	Pandit Gopináth.
	Muhammádpur ...		37 0 5	Nána Naráyan.
Akbarpur ...	Akbarpur ...		7 2 6	Shamsher Sháh.
	Firozápur ...		14 3 25	Ahmad Ali, Wasir Ali, and Asghar Ali.
Derapur ...	Balái Buzurg ...		4 0 12	Chet Singh or Kaladhár.
	" ...		1 3 19	M. Sukha Kunwár.
Ghátampur ...	Naráyanpur ...		178 1 26	Mahant Gaddá.
	Total ...		390 1 2	

The recorded revenue-free (*mudafi*) tenures have been taken up in detail during the recent settlement, and the actual status of the occupant decided according to the provisions of Act XIX. of 1873. Those found to be paying rent have been declared cultivating tenants; those not paying rent and satisfying the condition of the Act as to length of tenure have been recorded as proprietors, their title being subordinate to that of the *patti* to which the land originally belonged, and the sharers of which have the right of pre-emption. The revenue is collected by the lumbar-dar from the new proprietors as from the other shareholders.

The following statement shows the distribution of the cultivated area amongst the non-proprietary cultivators. Of the entire cultivated area 61·7 per cent. is held by cultivators with right of occupancy, 18·9 per cent. by tenants-at-will, and 10·6 per cent. as seer by the proprietors, the remainder comprising rent-free holdings, &c. —

Non-proprietary cultivators.

Pargannah.	CULTIVATORS WITH RIGHT OF OCCUPANCY						TENANTS-AT-WILL.					
	Resident cultivators.			Non-resident cultivators.			Resident cultivators.			Non-resident cultivators.		
	Percentage.	Average area per head.	Rate per acre.	Percentage.	Average area per head.	Rate per acre.	Percentage.	Average area per head.	Rate per acre.	Percentage.	Average area per head.	Rate per acre.
	Acres.	Rs. a. p.		Acres.	Rs. a. p.		Acres.	Rs. a. p.		Acres.	Rs. a. p.	
Bilbaur ...	53.8	4 1	5 4 11	9.8	1 0	4 5 4	14.7	3 0	5 4 2	4.9	2 2	4 3 0
Shurajpur...	52.5	3 0	5 2 4	13.4	2 2	3 1 3	9.3	2 1	5 9 11	4.5	2 1	4 13 9
Jajman ...	50.0	4 0	4 13 5	11.0	3 0	4 2 9	16.7	3 1	5 5 10	6.6	2 3	4 10 2
Rasulabad ...	61.4	4 1	4 11 11	9.9	2 3	4 0 8	9.1	2 3	5 0 2	2.6	1 3	4 12 10
Akbarpur ...	54.8	4 1	4 7 1	10.1	3 2	3 9 0	12.6	3 2	4 15 0	4.6	3 1	3 15 8
Sarh Salempur	52.9	4 1	5 0 9	8.3	3 1	3 12 9	18.1	3 1	5 8 11	5.7	3 0	4 4 5
Derapur ...	54.3	4 3	4 6 2	8.4	3 0	3 11 5	11.9	3 1	4 13 3	3.7	2 3	4 8 11
Bikandra ...	41.7	5 2	3 11 4	9.9	3 2	2 13 11	15.5	4 2	3 14 1	7.1	3 1	3 2 10
Bhogpur ...	50.0	5 2	3 7 4	10.8	3 3	2 14 4	4.2	3 11	4 6 4	1.2	3 2	3 2 7
Shatampur...	49.3	8 0	3 9 10	9.3	5 1	2 11 10	13.1	3 1	3 12 5	5.0	3 3	2 4 5
District. ...	51.6	5 0	4 6 11	10.1	3 1	3 9 0	13.7	3 2	4 10 11	5.3	3 0	3 13 9

In preparing the above list the repetition of any names has been so far as possible avoided, and this has been done with sufficient correctness as regards individual estates. Some repetition has most probably escaped elimination in the case

of *pāhikdashikārā* or non-resident cultivators. The statement shows an unexpectedly low average holding per head, and one that hardly promises a high standard of comfort.¹ Yet Mr. Wright, who spent much time in enquiring into the condition of the agricultural classes, has come to the conclusion that, though a certain proportion (principally the lowest classes, such as Chamārā or Muhammadans) are barely removed from the starvation point, yet the body agricultural as a whole is in a healthy state. The extension of irrigation and the rise in prices has put the industrious classes much above want, whilst the demand for labour has given a greater fixity to the daily income, small as it is, of the labouring classes. He has shown in his agricultural memorandum that of two selected parganahs, in one (Akbarpur) 26 per cent. of the cultivators were never in debt, whilst in Ghātampur, 47·5 per cent. declared that they had never been borrowers: and the proportion of those who might be considered as permanently involved were in the former parganah 20·6 per cent., and in the latter only 12·3 per cent. At the same time he has shown by a careful calculation of profit and loss that the Chamār with a five-acre holding will make a profit of Rs. 45-15-9 per annum, a Kāchhi (market gardener) with an eight-acre holding a profit of Rs. 90-8-1 per annum, and a Kurmi with a fifteen-acre holding a profit of Rs. 135-9-1. In the above calculations the profit includes the wages of the cultivator and his family's labour; yet, says Mr. Wright, "this income must be often exceeded, or whence will the cultivator obtain money for masonry wells, weddings, festivals, &c?" On the whole these exemplars show that the condition of the cultivator need not be the one of abject misery it is so often represented.² It is true his life is one of almost uninterrupted toil from year's end to year's end, but let him alone and he is happy. The same officer also shows by extracts from banīyas' books that the connection between money-lender and cultivator is not one of never-failing profit to the former. High interest means bad security, and the cultivator often absconds with what little property he has, or the banker in despair at getting any interest as well as principal wipes out the score and opens a fresh account. Moreover, as pointed out by Mr. Wright, much of the indebtedness of the cultivator is due to the vicious system by which rent could be demanded before the cultivator had harvested his crops. Hence he was driven to borrow and was saddled with at least six months' interest that might have been saved by a more judicious and fair distribution of instalments, such as has now been adopted; for in the revised settlement, the revenue demand, and consequently the rent demand, has been allotted

¹ It agrees, however, closely with that given by Mr. Montgomery (page 39, note), where he applies the test of a limited enumeration to the whole district and finds the average cultivation to be only three acres, when every name, cultivator, or partner, is counted. ² Mr. Wright presumably refers to Mr. Halsey's pamphlet on the district of Cawnpore.

in proportion to the different crops grown in each estate, and the same protection has been obtained for the cultivator by express stipulation in the village records. In short, Mr. Wright considers that the average cultivator is well enough to do according to the standard of comfort prevailing in the country, and that this standard is being raised year by year: and there can be no doubt that the thriftier peasant is well able keep up with the advance.

Ploughs and cattle.

The cattle in the district of Cawnpore were registered as follows during the progress of settlement operations:—

Statement of stock.

Parganah.	HORNED CATTLE.					Miscellaneous stock.		Total.
	Plough cattle.		Milk-cows and young	Lading, carriage hire, &c	Total cattle.	Sheep	Goats.	
	Bullocks	Buffaloes						
Bilhaur ...	16,717	2,238	6,834	3,621	29,405	3,807	4,817	38,029
Shiurájpur ...	24,906	3,860	22,374	2,902	54,042	5,587	7,592	67,321
Jáymau ...	21,205	2,588	25,187	7,516	56,496	2,868	11,679	71,043
Rasúlabad ...	16,759	4,475	20,421	13,241	54,896	3,601	6,542	65,039
Akbarpur ...	19,101	3,837	16,893	11,452	51,193	2,592	7,620	61,405
Sarh Salempur ...	17,466	2,061	17,985	9,400	46,912	1,798	8,601	57,311
Derapur ...	12,172	1,577	11,433	7,916	32,098	2,559	5,615	41,272
Sikandra ...	13,936	1,622	10,398	7,446	33,402	2,557	6,091	42,050
Bhognipur ...	22,795	2,018	17,435	14,813	57,061	1,974	9,438	68,473
Ghátampur ...	24,842	4,125	22,405	17,910	69,282	2,477	10,895	82,654
District ...	189,899	28,396	171,375	96,217	485,787	29,820	78,890	594,497

This gives an average of 214 head of cattle for every square mile in the district, and nearly 450 for every cultivated square mile, or rather under 50 head of cattle for every 100 persons of the population. The ploughs amounted to 104,608, with a cultivated area to each plough, varying according to the lightness of soil, of 7.1 acres in Bilhaur; 6.3 acres in Shiurájpur; 8 acres in Jájman; 7 in Rasúlabad; 7.1 in Akbarpur; 8.2 in Sárh Salempur; 8.1 in Derapur; 9.3 in Sikandra; 9.2 in Bhognipur, and 8.3 in Ghátampur. The general result is 8.1 acres for each plough throughout the district. According to the above estimate we should only have an average of one plough to two holdings, since the average holding per cultivator is about 3.5 acres. One plough and a pair of bullocks would be manifestly excess stock for so small an area, and as a fact we know that though the holding per head is only 2.4

acres, the entire holding, including sharers, is rarely under six or seven acres. Numerous cultivators of the poorer classes have no plough cattle of their own, but by the universal system of borrowing (*jita*) or hiring, work their land sufficiently for the scanty crops they care to raise. Similarly also rent-free holders rarely have any cattle. Mr. Wright calculates from the result of constant observation and enquiry that, on an average, manure for half an acre is collected in the year from the droppings of one yoke of oxen, to which is added all the refuse available. The droppings only of the rainy months are collected, those of the remainder of the year being used for fuel. Many cultivators also keep a cow or buffalo or two for milk, so that enough manure for an acre will be collected in the year, and the entire plough-holding of six acres be manured every sixth year. The cultivator's cash expenditure is reduced to a minimum, and, unless there be an exceptional demand for labour for weeding or irrigation, the whole of his ploughing, sowing, reaping, and harvesting is effected by his own family or his friends.

Cash rents are the rule in the district. Occasionally the zamindár sublets his soil on "batni" on the metayer system; and not unfrequently rice is grown on these terms owing to the precariousness of its outturn. Similarly the newly broken uplands of the alluvial mahals, where the very quality of the soil is a matter of doubt for the first year, are generally held on division of the produce. The following statement gives the average rent-rates assumed at settlement for the principal divisions of soil in each parganah:—

Statement showing average rent-rates.

Parganah	Rates.	Gauhan.		Mungha.		Barha.	
		Wet.	Dry.	Wet.	Dry.	Wet.	Dry.
		Rs. a p.	Rs. a p.	Rs. a p.	Rs. a p.	Rs. a p.	Rs. a p.
Bilhaur	Assumed ...	9 13 6	6 6 4	7 3 11	5 3 3	5 1 8	3 5 8
	Percentage of area.	16.3	1.2	19.2	3.7	21.1	28.5
Shiurajpur.	Assumed ...	9 14 7	6 3 5	6 15 9	5 1 8	5 1 9	3 5 3
	Percentage of area.	12.1	0.3	23.3	2.0	41.4	20.9
	Assumed ...	...	...	...	...	...	2 1 4
	Percentage of area.	...	...	...	...	...	...

Statement showing average rent-rates—(concluded.)

Pargana.	Rates.	Gauhn		Manjha.		Barha	
		Wet.	Dry.	Wet.	Dry.	Wet.	Dry.
		Rs a. p.	Rs a. p.	Rs a. p.	Rs a. p.	Rs a. p.	Rs a. p.
Jámau	Bangar ...	Assumed ... 10 1 7	10 1 7	6 4 4	7 2 10	5 0 5	5 6 8
	Kachhar ...	Percentage of area ... 100	0 4	24 5	1 8	30 8	32 5
Rasúlabad	Bangar ...	Assumed ... 8 0 0	8 0 0	...	...	5 10 9	3 2 2
	Kachhar ...	Percentage of area ... 7 1	0 6	...	...	89 8	...
Akbarpur	Bangar ...	Assumed ... 8 10 10	6 1 11	6 7 4	5 2 0	4 11 4	3 7 8
	Kachhar ...	Percentage of area ... 12 3	0 3	32 5	6 1	19 2	20 6
Sarh Sa- lempur	Bangar ...	Assumed ... 7 11 5	7 3 1	6 7 6	5 4 9	4 8 2	3 7 5
	Kachhar ...	Percentage of area ... 10 5	0 9	22 2	1 5	44 2	20 6
Derapur	Bangar ...	Assumed ... 9 11 2	6 3 9	6 7 2	5 1 3	4 14 7	3 1 2
	Kachhar ...	Percentage of area ... 11 6	0 4	31 9	2 4	29 4	24 3
Sikandra	Bangar ...	Assumed ... ..	..	...	...	...	3 7 6
	Kachhar ...	Percentage of area ... ..	..	...	...	...	...
Bhognipur	Bangar ...	Assumed ... 8 8 3	7 2 3	6 6 1	5 6 6	4 10 9	3 10 5
	Kachhar ...	Percentage of area ... 10 2	0 8	22 7	5 5	31 9	28 9
Ghátampur	Bangar ...	Assumed ... 7 8 9	5 10 7	6 0 0	4 14 10	5 0 0	4 11 10
	Kachhar ...	Percentage of area ... 1 4	6 7	1 0	20 7	0 5	69 7
District	Bangar ...	Assumed ... 7 2 4	5 0 9	6 0 0	4 13 5	4 5 4	3 5 6
	Kachhar ...	Percentage of area ... 0 9	5 0	1 7	16 4	4 0	72 0
District	Bangar ...	Assumed ... 7 4 6	5 10 10	6 4 6	4 13 6	4 10 0	3 1 5
	Kachhar ...	Percentage of area ... 3 3	1 9	5 9	5 8	20 2	63 0
District	Bangar ...	Assumed ... 9 8 4	5 13 0	6 11 0	4 15 4	4 14 6	3 7 10
	Kachhar ...	Percentage of area ... 8 1	1 9	16 8	6 6	25 1	41 8

But little recourse was had to the machinery of Act X. of 1859 for the purpose of enhancing rents. Inquiry showed that in five parganahs but 178 cases were instituted, affecting only 5,511 acres of cultivated land. Under Act XIX. of 1873 enhancement of rent is effected by the settlement officer subsequently to the revision of settlement, and the standard of rates which may be applied to cultivators' holdings is that of the rates assumed by the settlement officer for purposes of assessment. Under this system no strict test is obtained of the fairness and applicability of the settlement officer's rates. Enhancements settled by compromise between zamindar and cultivator are generally fixed at a lower rate than that of the settlement officer, but the numbers of instances in which enhancement is disallowed on the ground that the cultivator is already paying higher rates than those accepted by the settlement officer, form a species of test of those rates which has in every parganah been sufficiently satisfactory and conclusive in favour of their justice. The rent-rate given immediately antecedent to revision of settlement, so far as procurable from the old village papers, and the rent-rate assumed and anticipated by the settlement officer are contrasted as follows:—

Name of parganah	Rent-rate.			Name of parganah.	Rent-rate.		
	1249, 1250, and 1251.	Jama- bandi	As- sumed.		1249, 1250, and 1251.	Jama- bandi.	As- sumed.
	Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.		Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.
Bilhaur ...	Not obtainable.	5 2 9	5 13 7	Sárh Salempur ...	4 7 6	4 12 11	5 11 7
				Derapur ...	3 11 8	4 1 7	5 4 1
Shiurájpur ...	Ditto ...	4 14 9	5 13 2	Sikandra ...	3 10 9	3 3 11	4 0 10
Jáj- mau { Ordinary {	Ditto {	4 13 9	5 1 9	Bhognipur ...	3 3 6	3 5 4	3 14 6
		3 9 5	9 13 4	Ghátampur ...	Not obtainable.	3 3 5	3 14 4
Rasúlabad ...		4 1 3	4 10 6				
Aktarpur ...		4 1 3	4 2 10				

The above table gives an average jamabandi rate for the whole district of Rs. 4-10-2 per cultivated acre and an assumed rate on cultivation of Rs. 5-2-4. There can be little doubt that the standard assumed by the settlement officer can under favourable or even ordinary conditions be easily reached. The circumstances of each individual holding vary of course greatly, and these variations have been taken into account in fixing the new rents; but unless some calamity, such as severe drought, shakes the stability of rent-rates paid already by from one-half to two-thirds of the cultivating body, the general average should be steadily maintained, if not gradually exceeded.

Mr. Daniell records his opinion that the district is probably not entirely self-supporting, the food-producing population being, he says, as one to four to the non-producing. In this he follows Mr. Montgomery, who in an elaborate statement of imports, exports, and consumption, estimates large imports of food grains, amounting to 6,83,830 maunds, with a value of Rs. 10,74,831. At the same time he gives the total produce of the district at 41,38,704 maunds, with a value of Rs. 55,62,853. This estimate gives to each person, according to his census, a total consumption of 4.86 maunds per annum, or 0.53 seers per diem, i.e., rather over 1lb., to which Mr. Montgomery adds an estimated 0.04 seers of other edibles per diem. The above is, however, a low estimate of consumption, 1lb. being the minimum sustenance for a grown man: either the produce or the imports must, therefore, have been underestimated. Mr. Clarmont Daniell says: "It is impossible to estimate correctly the amount and cost of food consumed respectively by labourers, petty traders, mahájans, &c. Among a frugal people a man's means are the measure of the quantity and kind of food he eats; those whose means are very small undoubtedly consume less food than their richer neighbours, without reference to the profession each may follow. From some calculations made with great care a few years ago, I have come to the conclusion that among one thousand men, women, and children taken indiscriminately from the above named classes, 1½lb. of food per diem for each person is a fair average calculation." Now the population in 1872 was 1,155,439 souls, and at Mr. Daniell's calculation the supply of all food grains required to feed the above would amount to 79,07,360 maunds, whilst at Mr. Montgomery's it would amount to 56,06,035 maunds. Nothing is more difficult than to estimate the produce of cereals of a tract like the district of Cawnpore, containing so many variations of soil and other natural differences. The settlement records give an area

of 744,122 acres under food grains, with an outturn estimated by Mr. Wright as follows¹ :—

					Area in acres	Average out- turn	Total pro- duce.
						Mds.	Mds.
Wheat...	...	...	...	...	52,766	10	5,27,660
Barley	...	...	...	...	327,092	10	32,70,920
Gram	...	...	...	...	57,226	10	5,72,260
Gujar	...	...	...	...	37,877	10	3,78,770
Milleta	...	...	...	...	3,640	4	14,560
Rices	...	...	...	...	27,735	10	2,77,350
Joár	...	...	...	...	162,409	5	8,12,045
Bája	...	...	...	...	37,994	5	1,89,970
Pulses	...	...	...	...	13,300	5	66,500
Máize	...	...	...	...	21,083	10	2,40,630
Total					744,122	...	63,50,865

This outturn by Mr. Daniell's estimate demands a necessary importation of 7,57,515 maunds, but leaves by Mr. Montgomery's estimate 11,43,810 maunds available for export.

Now the above estimate is certainly below the mark, and is below the estimated outturn given by Mr. Wright in his agricultural memoir. But he is of opinion that for the entire district a higher average should not be estimated than that given above. At the same time we know that a large trade in wheat especially, but other food grains also, has lately sprung up, and has been fostered by the heavy winter crop of 1876-77. This trade shows that large surplus stocks of grain exist in the district, and points to a higher average outturn than that above estimated. In Mr. Wright's opinion the crops grown in the district are far more than sufficient for local consumption and are largely exported. Their value is partly re-imported in the shape of piece-goods, and any surplus balance in favour of the district is employed either in trade or in usury. On the other hand Mr. Daniell records that "there is no evidence of the balance of trade being in favour of the district, or that any accumulation of capital ultimately unemployed or withdrawn from circulation arises from this cause. Such an accumulation, if it were to exist, would arise from a combination of many and various circumstances of a personal and exceptional character, which with the

¹ The area under millets is probably underestimated, whilst that under máize is clearly below the actual outturn.

means at our disposal it is not possible to estimate with any advantage." With which somewhat vague opinion we are left in the normal state of doubt as to the self-supporting capabilities of a district which affords the most favourable opportunities for investigation and analysis.

The settlement officers during the course of their operations collected in each parganah price lists from grain dealers' books.

Prices.

The quotations chosen were those for actual transactions for wheat in Baisakh (April—May), when the rabi harvest is in the market; for *jodr* and *bājra* in Kārtik—Aghan (October—December), when these grains are cut: they are therefore harvest prices. It was found impossible to obtain market prices with any degree of accuracy. The following statement gives the result of these enquiries in a condensed form—that is, in three periods determined by some special cause of variation. The first period is closed by the famine of 1838, and is almost coincident with the settlement under Regulation IX. of 1833; the second by the mutiny; the last being the post-mutiny period to as late a date as procurable. The quotations for the several parganahs, it was found, varied amongst themselves, but there was sufficient correspondence both in rise and fall to establish their genuine character:—

			Period	Settlement figures	Mr. Halsey's figures.
				M. s. ch.	M. s. ch.
Jodr	...	{	1814—36	1 4 0	..
			1840—56	1 14 11	1 15 8
			1859—77	0 30 10	0 28 7
Bājra	...	{	1814—36	1 3 10	..
			1840—56	1 11 11	1 9 8
			1859—77	0 29 6	0 25 11
Wheat			1814—36	0 32 1	0 25 9
			1840—56	0 36 4	0 37 1
			1859—77	0 23 4	0 22 4
Bijhra	...	{	1814—36	1 3 7	0 37 0
			1840—56	1 14 4	1 5 6
			1859—77	0 32 2	0 32 5

On the above Mr. Wright remarks:—"There is unmistakably a very considerable difference in the prices ruling before last settlement and those current during the years immediately preceding the present revision. The percentage of increase is for wheat 42·7 per cent., for *bijhra* 34·2, for *jodr* 43·6, and for *bājra* 47·7 per cent. I am aware that this result is directly contradictory of that shown by Mr. Halsey in his memorandum on the question of the application of a permanent settlement to this district.

have shown the prices he gives side by side with those obtained by me, to facilitate comparison. In my opinion, the reason for the discrepancy is simply that he confined his enquiries to the transactions of one place, and that place a large mercantile entrepôt, always possessed of exceptional advantages in demand for produce; and further, that the prices shown by him do not really represent at any time the prices obtainable by the cultivator, but rather those of large business transactions, more or less influenced by speculation and causes other than those which could ever affect the cultivator." He further adds:—"No deduction has been or need be drawn from the undoubtedly very large advance in prices during the second half as compared with the first half of the currency of the expired settlement; but though the fine harvest of the three years which preceded the writing of Mr. Halsey's report give colour to the view he took, that prices would again sink to the level they were at some period before last settlement, the experience of the last five years warns us against any assumption based on isolated instances. I believe it now places beyond doubt that prices can never fall to the standard of old days, when a maund of the inferior grains was almost constantly obtainable for a rupee. With regard to wheat, the demand for export, though this year (1877) stimulated to an unusual degree by exceptional causes, has established itself on such a footing that it may be considered permanent, and will probably prevent the price from falling below a constant rate which will enable the cultivator to continue to pay the rents now paid and make a fair profit on his labour.

This undoubted rise in prices has, however, had little or no effect on rents, nor have we based any assumption as to an actual or potential advance in rates on such rise. Neither Mr. Buck nor Mr. Evans in any way referred to a rise in prices, and in the reports submitted by Mr. Wright he repudiated any endeavour to formulate such variable data as a basis for any assumption as to the actual standard of rent-rates. In his Shiurajpur report he pointed out the manner he considered a rise in prices might affect rents as follows:—"The effect of the rise in prices ordinarily tells in some such sequence as this; first, the good prices of one year induce competition for seer land to let; this fetches high rents, and has the effect of raising to some degree the rents of all land held by tenants-at-will. When once the general standard is raised by ever so little, the landlord is encouraged to go into court against the tenant with right of occupancy, and by arbitration, as often as not, gets a compromise in the way of an enhancement, given probably by the arbitrator, just so much as

Probably 20 seers for a rupee.

to make one party satisfied without injuring the other. Thus at a long interval the rise in prices affects the rent-rate of the whole tenantry; in the meantime prices may have fallen, and the temporary gain even have been lost to the landlord." The same principles, he argues, hold good for the future, and it would be dangerous to anticipate or endeavour to calculate any future effect on rents from a rise in prices, or to do anything more than accept rent-rates as they are found to exist, when the causes of variation have reached them in the gradual and not-to-be-formulated mode that prevails.

The rates of interest current in Cawnpore city are as follows:—(a) on petty pledges three pice per rupee per mensem or 18·75 per cent per annum; (b) in large transactions where moveable property is pledged six to eight per cent.; (c) when immoveable property is pledged, 12 per cent; (d) when agricultural advances are made on personal security, 24 per cent.; (e) in some cases when a crop is pledged, 12 per cent., or one-quarter of the crop produce; (f) not less than five per cent. is held to be a fair return for money invested in landed property. Loans in the district are chiefly granted by petty money-lenders, and the following are the usual forms such transactions take:—

Surda, when the ryot takes grain in Kárttik, he returns five-fourths in Jeth (May—June) in grain or money value—that is, the amount of grain due is converted into its money value in Kárttik when it is dear, and in Jeth, when grain is cheap, the money due, enhanced one-fourth, is reconverted into grain: thus, if wheat sells at 16 sers the rupee in Kárttik, but at 24 sers in Jeth, the lender gets 30 sers for his 16, or 87 per cent profit.

Ughái is a form of loan in which if ten rupees be lent it is repaid in twelve monthly instalments of one rupee each, and is then known as *chhoti ughái*; but if the loan amount to sixteen rupees, to be repaid in twenty monthly instalments of one rupee each, the transaction is known as *lambi ughái*. If a man does not pay his instalment he is charged two pice in the rupee on his arrears, or he will serve his banker, being credited with the usual rate of wage against his debt. If a debtor pays off before the term fixed he gets no allowance, the creditor naturally liking long credit. The usual rate of interest is two rupees per cent. per month, and the amount paid is first credited to payment of interest.

Transactions under the head of pawnbroking are effected on the deposit of an article in pledge, in this country generally jewels or metal vessels. The broker tests and values the metal. Inferior metal, or that in which a large proportion of alloy (*subra*) is mixed,

is called *Khota*; good metal is called *Mhara*. The broker will give the pawner 75 per cent. of the value for silver and 80 per cent. of the value for gold, the former metal being more likely to be inferior. Interest is the subject of special contract, as also the complete transfer of the property to the pawnee by lapse of time. The former ranges from a half to one rupee per cent. per mensem. The latter condition often never exists, property lying unclaimed for fifty years: the pawnee never troubles the pawnor as long as his interest on the advance made is covered by the value of the article pledged.

Cawnpore, always a large commercial centre, has since the completion of railway communication grown at the expense of more isolated towns into an entrepôt of the greatest importance, to which are brought the cotton, oil seeds, and grain from the country south of the Jumna.¹ Numerous merchants of every nationality make Cawnpore their place of business, whilst many native traders have risen to high prosperity both from their own dealings in these staples and their connection with the European merchants.

The following statement contrasts the exports from January to August in the years 1876 and 1877, obtained from the railway authorities, and shows a net decrease in 1877 of 8,42,793 maunds:—

Statement of principal goods despatched from Cawnpore.

Staples.		1876.	1877.	INCREASE IN 1877.	DECREASE IN 1877.
		Weight	Weight	Weight	Weight
		Maunds.	Maunds.	Maunds.	Maunds.
Cotton	...	59,719	50,948	...	8,771
Ghi	...	13,168	16,362	3,194	...
Gur	...	1,78,380	44,456	...	1,33,924
Grain	...	15,60,67	24,88,620	9,37,993	...
Piece-goods	...	32,972	24,681	...	8,291
Oil	...	1,856	6,891	5,035	...
Salt	...	20,026	12,828	...	7,908
Salt-petre	...	83,008	80,270	...	2,838
Seeds	...	11,76,716	14,60,241	2,83,525	...
Sugar	...	71,751	50,087	...	21,664
Opium	...	12,518	14,877	2,359	...
Hides	...	40,629	28,663	...	11,966
Total	...	32,41,430	42,78,879	10,37,406	1,94,657

¹ Mr. Daniell, Collector, however considers the trade to be declining, for the reason that the extension of the railway system has developed other centres and caused goods to be carried direct to ports instead of bringing them to Cawnpore for carriage. He is possibly right, and as Mirzapur has declined in importance, so also may Cawnpore.

The immense increase in the export of food-grains, and notably in that of wheat, cannot fail to be noticed. This trade, though not two years old, is rapidly increasing, and is likely to be a most important one, and to establish a price for wheat which will always ensure its being a remunerative crop to the cultivator. The import of piece-goods on the other hand has fallen off in the same period, owing partly to large stocks, heavy imports of yarn from Bombay, and the competition of the local manufactories—the Elgin and the Muir Mills. The former, originally started by a company, was purchased by Mr. Hugh Maxwell. It employs four European overseers, four native clerks, and from 250 to 300 workmen—boys and women. The Muir Mills, more recently established, employ seven Europeans and 350 workmen. Both do a large business in spinning and weaving, producing yarns 20s to 40s, American drills, dhotis, T-cloths, and sheetings. The army and police are large customers, and natives buy large quantities of the yarn for private looms. The Elgin Mills have a horizontal action steam-engine, and the Muir Mills have a pair of condensing engines, nominal horse-power 50, with two Galloway boilers.

The facilities for the leather trade have led to the establishment of a Government tannery and leather manufactory in the old fort, which supplies leather accoutrements for the army and gives employment to eight European superintendents, about a dozen native clerks, and upwards of 800 native workmen; three small engines assist largely in the work. The manufacture of saddlery, harness, boots and other leather goods is a prominent industry in Cawnpore, and orders are received from the most distant quarters. The Government flour-mills grind corn for commissariat purposes, aided by a beam fixed engine working to 50 horse-power. There are eleven cotton screws at work in Cawnpore.

The following figures give some indication of the trade of Cawnpore :—

Statement showing the principal exports and imports of Cawnpore from September, 1871, to March, 1872.

	Cotton.	Grain.	Oilseed.	Indigo seed.	Hides	Salt.	Saltpetre.	Cloth.	Miscellaneous.
Imports	2,29,392	15,96,179	2,13,863	1,63,340	62,918	1,77,193	15,399	1,79,485	17,09,536
Exports	2,70,045	2,47,282	43,364	95,920	22,114	1,14,980	14,509	80,589	9,32,307

The following figures concerning the trade of Cawnpore are taken from a note "on existing Trade Statistics" written by Mr. E. T. Atkinson when secretary to the statistical conference.

CAWNPORE.

I.—Entering from the west at Chauki Jadul.

1868-69	From district Cawn pore.	From Agr. division.	From Bundelkhand division.	From Meerut division.	From Bundelkhand	From Central India	From Rajputana	From Punjab	Total	For the city of Cawn pore.	For other places
Cotton	31,172	123,600	3,145	42,529	3,253	110	111	1,954	2,40,729	1,97,000	43,729
Grain	1,40,489	22,649		1,205	17		100	125	1,40,700	1,40,612	88
Oilseeds	55,235	10,213	43		121			25	70,070	78,909	11,161
Miscellaneous	2,04,351	619	2,470	10,508	54,726		13,111	1,000	3,61,198	3,23,349	37,849

* Mostly for Mirzapur, Ghazipur, and Calcutta

II.—Entering from the east at Chauki Aharwar.

1868-69	From district Cawn pore.	From Fyzilpur.	From Aharwar	From Jaipur	From Benares division.	From Bundelkhand	From Central India	From Bihar	From Benares division.	Total	For the city of Cawn pore.	For other places
Cotton	1,911	717		843	812	2,954				7,797	5,995	1,802
Grain	59,141	64,980		2,036	4,000	3,135				1,29,292	1,29,292	
Oilseeds	19,722	2,187	101	2,442	200	7,855		2,077	18	32,385	95,121	2,152
Miscellaneous	18,622	8,284	13,013	41,151	50,315	71,721	925	5,519	51	3,51,601	2,45,088	1,06,513

Hamirpur is included in Bundelkhand.

III.—Abstract statement of traffic passing along East Indian Railway, Cawnpore.

Goods registered at		Western barrier.		Eastern barrier.	
1865-69		Outwards.	Inwards.	Inwards.	Outwards.
Cotton	...	210	2,45,557	6,504	1,39,703
Grain	...	3,69,502	1,70,796	1,88,027	2,46,248
Oilseeds	...	2,821	77,333	97,273	354
Miscellaneous	...	3,46,837	2,51,498	2,51,741	1,53,764

IV.—Issuing to the east by Chauki Aharwan.

1868-69.	To Bareilly.	To district Cawnpore.	To Fatepur.	To Allahabad.	To Jaunpur.	To Benares division.	To Bengal.	To Central India and Bundelkhand.	Total.	From city of Cawnpore.	From other places.
Cotton	...	375	42	4,804	5,077	1,03,584	25,781		1,39,709	10,938	1,28,755
Grain	250	86,142	69,288	4,539	28,895	212	...	77,150	2,40,226	97,610	1,48,606
Oilseeds	9	24	79	...	50	9	116	67	354	116	238
Miscellaneous	239	45,047	31,155	14,431	21,357	9,991	679	30,215	1,53,764	74,499	79,265

Ganges traffic.—The Ganges-borne traffic has not been registered for any length of time, and with any attempt at completeness only at Cawnpore. Returns exist from 1865-66 to 1871-72. Those were taken at the pontoon bridge across the Ganges opposite Cawnpore, which was an admirable station, as the bridge was opened for only two hours a day to admit of boats passing up and down, and so these returns may be accepted as fairly giving the entire traffic of the upper Ganges. Owing to the changes in the mode of registration and classification of the goods upwards and downwards, it is not easy to give any comparison of the traffic year by year. The abstract given in statement A, appendix I, shows the traffic arranged under 24 heads. It will be seen that the bulk of the river-borne goods consists of grain, cotton, oil and indigo seeds, the staple products of these provinces.

The returns are from—

October 1st, 1865 to September 30th, 1866.

October 1st, 1866 to August 20th, 1867.

May 1st, 1868 to March 31st, 1869.

April 1st, 1869 to March 31st, 1870.

April 1st, 1870 to March 31st, 1871.

April 1st, 1871 for a few months, not stated.

Statement B, appendix I, gives the destination of the down-country river traffic passing by Cawnpore, divided broadly into traffic with the towns in the North-Western Provinces as far as Benares, including Fatehpur, Kora, Allahabad, Mirzapur, Chunár, and Benares. Then comes Ghazipur, and then Dinápur, Patna, and Calcutta. The other marts of Lower Bengal are given under one head, as the exports to them are insignificant. The down-country trade consists of grain, cotton, oilseeds, indigo seed, saltpetre, hides, and (for Ghazipur) opium. The character of the local trade, included under

the head of miscellaneous, with the lower districts of these provinces as far as Benares, will be seen from the following table:—

				1866-67	1868-69.	1869-70.	1870-71
				Mds.	Mds.	Mds.	Mds.
Country liquor	...	...	...	1,576	2,692	4,471	4,626
Opium	...	...	...	1,820	...	...	1,709
Salt	...	...	...	371	1,817	7,643	1,450
Sugar and molasses	...	...	...	5,455	550	2,651	11,121
Tobacco	...	...	...	1,296	...	...	...
Cocoanuts	...	...	...	450	564	300	...
Spices	...	...	...	1,769	3,390	650	250
Bohax	...	...	...	602	550	...	...
Metals	...	...	...	13,869	...	850	200
Mats	...	...	...	1,980	3,300	3,414	1,003
Country cloth	...	...	...	15,345	65	102	145
Potatoes, &c	...	...	...	...	1,505	760	...
Tallow	...	...	...	...	100	250	...
Fuel	...	...	...	...	18,712	2,255	321
Dyes	...	...	...	...	...	150	1,500
Maunds	...	...	...	45,083	13,245	21,434	22,916
				Pieces.	Pieces	Pieces.	Pieces.
Hides	...	...	...	47,081	...	...	...
Timber	...	...	...	60,110	9,607	9,375	9,343
Bambus	...	...	...	554,295	1,883,350	1,311,600	785,572
Grass	...	...	...	413,550	15,700	67,000	...
Leather bags	...	...	...	...	...	2,500	...
Gunny bags	...	...	...	7,615	...	3,650	...
Boxes and casks	...	...	...	2,770	636	...	...
Pieces	...	...	...	1,106,331	1,992,233	1,886,025	74,915

The differences in the downward trade in cloth and metals in 1866-67, compared with subsequent years, would point to some error in the returns. Beyond this they fairly represent the current local trade between the marts in these provinces. The direct external trade consists mainly of cotton, oilseeds, indigo seed, and hides. Grain does not seem to be shipped beyond Benares

in large quantities. For the first six months of 1872 the down trade from places in those provinces passing Sahibganj on the Ganges was as noted in the margin.

Of these only 854 maunds of cotton, 135 of sugar, 2,050 of shell-lac and dyes, and 8,885 maunds of miscellaneous vegetable produce come from Cawnpore.

The great bulk of the cotton came from Mirzapur (25,189 maunds), and the sugar and oil-seeds by the Ghāgra, from the districts of the Benares division: sugar especially from Barhaj, at the confluence of the Rapti and Ghāgra in Gorakhpur (29,863), Bithora in Azamgarh (7,780), and Ballia in Ghāzipur (23,981): oil-seeds also from Barhaj (21,481.) The staples of the upward

local trade are principally metals, grain, spices, tobacco, betel-nuts, cocoanuts, &c.

The real upward external trade is better seen from the returns of the

To	Rice.	Other grains.	Metal.	Salt.
Allahabad ...	24,161	...	...	300
Mirzapur ...	62,471	1,942	1,280	381
Benares ...	942,460	542	125	50
Ghazipur ...	415,514	11,095	1,543	6,650
Gogra ghats ...	33,946	2,052	575	5,200
Other places ...	53,874	3,400	1,376	9,838
Total ...	852,416	19,031	4,899	22,304

traffic passing by Sahibganj during the first six months of 1872. These are given in the margin. Rice is the staple import, other grains being merely nominal, except to Ghazipur. The districts of Benares, Ghazipur, and those along the Ghagra noted for sugar and indigo cultivation

are partially fed from the rice-lands of Lower Bengal, and are thus enabled to grow other than food grains. In fact, they import in half a year $8\frac{1}{2}$ lakhs of maunds of rice alone from below Sahibganj, without counting the intermediate stations.

The following note by Mr. Fuller, C.S., carries down the trade-statistics to the present day:—

"From being a cantonment bazar Cawnpore has become perhaps the most important centre of trade in the North-Western Provinces. The roads leading to it from all sides are lined with what often appear to be unending strings of carts, and its market-place, Collectorganj, exhibits a scene of bustle and commercial activity not often seen in Indian cities. It owes this prosperity in some part to the fortunate policy which substituted a license tax for the octroi, from which the income of most other towns is derived, though of course the peculiar advantages of position which it enjoys must always have made it a trading centre of considerable importance. It is situated on the main lines of communication for the streams of trade running up and down country: the East Indian Railway, the Grand Trunk Road, the river Ganges, and the Ganges canal, all pass through it. On one side it is connected with the trans-Jumna districts of Bundelkhand by two metalled roads (*via* Hamirpur and Kalpi), and on the other side with the province of Oudh by the Oudh and Rohilkhand Railway to Lucknow and roads which run to Lucknow and Rae Bareilly. It thus intercepts much of the trade between Upper India and the parts of Bombay and Calcutta, and acts as a connecting centre between this stream of trade and Oudh on one side and Bundelkhand on the other.

During the year 1876-77 trade was registered under the Department of Agriculture and Commerce on all the roads mentioned above, as well as on the river Ganges and the Ganges canal. The statistics thus collected are given below together with figures showing the trade on the East Indian Railway during the same year 1876-77, and on the Oudh and Rohilkhand Railway during the succeeding one (1877-78). No Oudh and Rohilkhand Railway statistics are available for 1876-77, and in comparing the returns considerable allowance must be made for differences in the condition of trade. In the

subjoined tables the amount of trade in the more important articles of commerce is shown separately, as well as the total weight and value given in the aggregate. *

In "class A" are included all articles the value of which is ordinarily proportional to weight: in "class B" those which are reckoned by number and not by weight: and in "class C." those the value of which has ordinarily no relation to their weight.

I.

¹ Trade between the city of Cawnpore and up-country districts, exclusive of that carried by the East Indian Railway.

IMPORTS INTO CAWNPORE.							EXPORTS FROM CAWNPORE.						
Name of article.	By Grand Trunk Road.		By Ganges Canal.		By River Ganges.		Name of article.	By Grand Trunk Road.		By Ganges Canal.		By River Ganges.	
	Weight.	Value.	Weight.	Value.	Weight.	Value.		Weight.	Value.	Weight.	Value.	Weight.	Value.
	Mds.	Rs.	Mds.	Rs.	Mds.	Rs.		Mds.	Rs.	Mds.	Rs.	Mds.	Rs.
Cotton, raw	83,327	11,65,872	130,801	23,10,559	741	12,976	Piece-goods, Euroj. and.	1,950	1,74,560	...	...	80	7,500
Grain—							Iron	20,412	2,06,755	20,876	3,08,341	1,771	19,996
Wheat	78,060	1,24,679	407,880	6,75,433	358,056	4,51,306	Sugar—						
Other kinds	81,237	39,711	24,803	31,554	120,539	1,43,299	Refined	2,914	34,773	970	11,986	128	4,080
Salt	4,913	26,351	124,492	5,85,887	507	2,474	Unrefined	20,876	95,088	18,977	41,031	7	703
Oil seeds	59,383	2,60,074	197,491	3,35,125	32,179	1,00,740	Other miscellaneous articles	85,173	6,29,001	91,237	1,84,554	25,157	35,813
Timber	18	36	25	50	58,932	1,17,560	Total weight and value of class A	150,468	11,39,780	133,406	5,47,711	27,142	65,699
Firewood	18,282	4,548	97,220	24,309	45,390	12,410	Total number and value of class B	30,111	66,267	24,116	9,908	1,840	145
Other miscellaneous articles	96,602	4,08,482	102,042	6,21,492	170,270	2,08,981	Total value of class C	...	23,880	...	2,668	...	224
Total weight and value of class A	369,332	23,29,732	1,085,744	40,18,409	690,574	41,39,054							
Total number and value of class B	141,920	62,880	3,127	15,472	...	...					
Total value of class C	...	3,712	...	2,087	...	5,940							

II.

Trade between the city of Cawnpore and down-country districts in 1876-77, exclusive of that carried by the East Indian Railway.

IMPORTS.					EXPORTS.				
Name of article.	By Grand Trunk Road.		By River Ganges.		Name of article.	By Grand Trunk Road.		By River Ganges.	
	Weight.	Value.	Weight.	Value.		Weight.	Value.	Weight.	Value.
	Mds.	Rs.	Mds.	Rs.		Mds.	Rs.	Mds.	Rs.
Iron	60,768	3,20,991	70	840	Cotton, raw	63,820	10,41,438	12,532	2,35,361
Grain (other than wheat)	344,651	5,04,777	590	710	Salt	43,621	2,37,705	880	4,680
Miscellaneous articles	967,224	9,37,089	1,765	27,019	Indigo seed	...	...	33,475	1,50,850
					Sugar, unrefined	36,894	90,957	1,100	2,750
					Miscellaneous articles	170,859	11,97,944	14,800	28,68,248
Total weight and value of class A	572,641	17,62,539	2,425	29,569	Total weight and value of class A	330,894	29,76,914	63,087	32,62,389
Total number and value of class B	40,928	26,333	...	...	Total number and value of class B	40,680	1,73,930	...	...
Total value of class C	...	24,363	...	8,049	Total value of class C	...	21,420	...	165

III.

Trade between the city of Cawnpore and Bundelkhand in 1876-77.

IMPORTS.					EXPORTS.				
Name of article.	Kulpur road.		Hamirpur road.		Name of article.	Kulpur road.		Hamirpur road.	
	Weight.	Value.	Weight.	Value.		Weight.	Value.	Weight.	Value.
	Mds.	Rs.	Mds.	Rs.		Mds.	Rs.	Mds.	Rs.
Cotton, raw	27,849	4,90,526	52,276	8,61,754	Port-goods, Euro	...	...	...	...
Piece-goods Indian	516	40,805	5,430	2,71,611	pean	1,942	2,97,499	8,706	7,83,569
All	12,793	2,51,746	777	14,680	Salt	33,964	1,75,164	29,426	1,56,401
Grain--					Sugar--				
Wheat	96,656	1,10,449	70,211	2,82,062	Refined	5,592	70,695	28,307	2,90,787
Other kinds	342,982	4,06,745	378,798	4,51,551	Unrefined	4,694	72,728	68,725	2,48,680
Iron	41,222	4,06,745	1,032	10,763	Tobacco	4,108	30,630	15,148	1,36,448
Oilseeds	103,209	5,34,911	260,946	8,72,178	Miscellaneous articles	...	...	...	...
Firewood	89,134	23,031	100,584	26,408		34,358	1,43,586	77,123	5,36,627
Miscellaneous articles	150,608	4,62,189	76,593	9,84,147					
Total weight and value of class A	926,472	27,42,247	1,046,446	37,83,124	Total weight and value of class A	105,458	8,00,292	227,335	21,61,499
Total number and value of class B	33,183	91,646	29,173	1,29,920	Total number and value of class B	18,475	8,898	62,956	6,521
Total value of class C	...	99,525	...	49,746	Total value of class C	...	20,875	...	16,172

IV.

Trade between the city of Cawnpore and Oudh in 1876-77 (per road traffic) and in 1877-78 (per Railway traffic.)

IMPORTS.				EXPORTS.			
Name of article.	By road via Ganges bridge		By Oudh and Rohilkhand Railway.	Name of article.	By road via Ganges bridge		By Oudh and Rohilkhand Railway.
	Weight.	Value.	Weight.		Weight.	Value.	Weight.
	Mds.	Rs.	Mds.		Mds.	Rs.	Mds.
Grain—				Cotton, raw	116,305	21,61,231	346
Wheat	679,456	10,16,000	15,057	Piece goods—			
Other kinds	551,255	7,75,149	11,743	European	11,33	10,11,352	309
Hides	5,413	1,15,110	26,916	Indian	6,311	3,15,727	9,709
Oilseeds	144,853	5,22,280	176,610	Iron	36,180	1,67,917	21,131
Sugar—				Salt	141,091	5,07,713	2,177
Refined	3,256	41,799	10,140	Miscellaneous articles	61,052	8,59,345	516,013
Unrefined	146,797	4,14,605	5,819				
Tobacco	29,617	1,80,778	11				
Miscellaneous articles	158,217	6,50,416	40,433	Total weight and value of class A	374,188	51,33,516	553,068
Total weight and value of class A	17,18,374	37,12,425	282,766	Total number and value of class B	61,772	3,20,601	...
Total number and value of class B	15,914	62,272	..				
Total value of class C	...	26,068	..	Total value of class C	..	60,382	..

The four tables above show the trade which Cawnpore transacts—(I.) with the marts of the Upper Duuh, Panjáb, and perhaps Rohilkhand; (II.) with the marts of the Benares division and Lower Bengal; (III) with Bundelkhand; (IV.) with Oudh, minus that carried by the East Indian Railway. This of course is a very important item in the first two currents of trade, but unfortunately the railway trade statistics which are available for 1876-77 do not indicate the direction in which the trade ran. Traffic is only divided into outward and inward—that is to say, "exports from" or "imports to" the Cawnpore station, and no distinction is drawn between trade with up-country and down-country marts. For this separate returns are necessary before really satisfactory comparison can be instituted between the returns for road, river (with canal), and railway traffic. As a rule, enquiry has shown the direction which the trade in the various articles took, and this is noted in the column for remarks.

A column is added showing the additional amount of trade, export and import, which ran direct from or to the Oudh and Rohilkhand Railway, and was not consigned to Cawnpore itself.

Trade on the East Indian Railway to and from the Cawnpore station in the year 1877-78.

Name of article.	Imports to Cawnpore station	Sent direct to O & R. Ry.	Remarks.
	Maunds.	Maunds	
Cotton, raw ...	47,173	29,345	From up-country
Piece-goods ...	211,593	8,070	A large proportion comprised European piece-goods from Calcutta, which are not distinguished from Indian in railway returns
Hides ...	16,291	814	From up-country.
Iron ...	107,274	21,938	A large proportion was European iron-work from Calcutta.
Salt ...	571,698	154,721	From down-country
Sugar ...	23,585	518	Ditto
Tobacco ...	12,630	93	
Miscellaneous articles ...	363,463	184,165	
Total weight of class A ..	1,353,707	399,654	

Exports (both upwards and downwards)

Name of article.	From Cawnpore station.	Received direct from O & R. Ry	Remarks.
	Maunds.	Maunds	
Cotton, raw ...	106,117	5,407	Sent down-country.
Piece goods ...	52,348	8,390	„ up-country.
Grain—			
Wheat ...	1,423,311	259,543	To Calcutta.
Other kinds ...	2,203,679	490,580	To Calcutta and Bombay
Salt ...	425,084	208	Down-country.
Oilseeds ...	1,520,801	57,363	To Calcutta.
Sugar ...	243,830	351,069	Up-country.
Timber ...	22,782	22,930	Down-country.
Miscellaneous articles ...	311,721	63,827	
Total weight of class A	5,906,673	1,259,367	

The chief articles of trade which pass through Cawnpore are cotton, piece-goods (country and European), wheat and other kinds of grain, iron, salt, oilseeds, indigo seed, sugar, and tobacco.

Cloth comes to Cawnpore from two directions—from the up-country districts of Aligarh, Agra &c., and from Bundelkhand. The total amount that in 1876-77 was registered as coming from the former direction by the Grand Trunk Road, the Ganges Canal, and the East Indian Railway was 261,401 maunds, while from the latter direction 79,124 maunds came by the Hamirpur and Kalpi roads. The canal is the favourite means of conveyance for raw cotton, since from its bulk its carriage by rail is very expensive. From Cawnpore, cotton is sent either to the port of Calcutta or into the province of Oudh, whence it reaches the Sub-Himalayan districts, the climate of which is too damp for its production. All cotton sent to the port of Calcutta leaves by the East Indian Railway, which in 1876-77 took 105,117 maunds; that sent into Oudh travels almost entirely by road. A great deal of this latter is consigned to Fyzabad, Tanda, and Shahganj, whence it is distributed (in exchange for sugar) to the Gonda, Basti, and Gorakhpur districts.

Piece-goods (European) come direct from Calcutta by the East Indian Railway. In the railway returns, European piece-goods are not distinguished from those of Indian manufacture, but it may be safely said that a large portion of the 211,593 maunds of piece-goods which arrived by the East Indian Railway was European. From Cawnpore they are distributed to Oudh and Bundelkhand.

Country cloth is sent to Cawnpore from up-country towns (Farukhabad, &c.) and from Bundelkhand; several special manufactures of the latter place are well known and much sought after, such as the *khdrus* of Mau Rānipur. The greater part is sent on to Oudh.

Wheat is collected for consignment to Calcutta, and for the growing importance of the wheat export trade to Europe, Cawnpore may look for a fresh source of prosperity. Altogether over 14 lakhs of maunds were sent on to Calcutta, six lakhs of which were received from Oudh and four lakhs by the Ganges canal.

Grain other than wheat always forms perhaps the largest item in the trade of Cawnpore, but during 1876-77 its export from these Provinces was greatly stimulated by the famines in Madras and Bombay, and in this export trade Cawnpore probably took a larger share than any other town. It despatched over 22 lakhs of maunds by the East Indian Railway, which were collected from Oudh (5½ lakhs maunds), from Bundelkhand (7 lakhs), and from up-country districts.

Both European and native iron are collected at Cawnpore for distribution: the former comes up from Calcutta by the East Indian Railway, while most of the latter comes from the hill states (Chatarpur, &c.) beyond the Banda and Hamirpur districts. Oudh takes the largest share, and the Ganges Canal the next, for up-country marts.

Salt comes either from Calcutta by rail, in which case it is chiefly English, or from the salt-pans of Rajputāna and the Panjāb mines. The railway statistics do not give any clue as to the proportions of Calcutta and up-country salt which arrived, but from the East Indian Railway trade report for the half-year ending 30th, June, 1877, it appears that but little Calcutta salt goes higher than Benares, and that therefore nearly all the 571,698 maunds which the railway brought to Cawnpore must have been from either the Panjāb or Rajputāna. 124,492 maunds came by the Ganges canal; this was of course all produced in either the Panjāb or Rajputāna. The salt is distributed to Oudh and Bundelkhand.

Oilseeds are collected and despatched to Calcutta for export. Like the trade in wheat, that in oilseeds is greatly increasing. Oilseeds are collected from all sides and form an important item in the imports of each road that runs to Cawnpore, as well as of the river Ganges and the Ganges canal.

Indigo seed is sent by river down to Lower Bengal, where seed from these Provinces has been found to do far better than that produced on the spot.

Sugar comes to Cawnpore from two directions—from the districts of the Benares division, with the adjacent ones in the Lower Provinces, and from Oudh. Including imports by the East Indian Railway, the amount, refined and unrefined, consigned from the former places was 84,022 maunds, while that which came by road from Oudh in 1876-77 plus that imported by the Oudh and Rohilkhand Railway in 1877-78 amounts to 156,943 maunds. The greater part of this is sent on by the East Indian Railway to Delhi and other Panjáb ports. The remainder goes to Bundelkhand, being with salt the main commodity which is exchanged for the cotton, grain, and iron of the trans Jumna territory.

Tobacco, like sugar, comes from down-country districts of these Provinces and from Oudh. The East Indian Railway brought 12,630 maunds from the former locality, while 28,667 maunds came by road from the latter. It is sent either up-country or across to Bundelkhand.

The principal fairs held in the district of Cawnpore are those of Bithúr and Makampur. The former is held on the khádir below the town of Bithúr at Kártik purnamáshi (full moon), coincidentally with the Batesar and Sonpur fairs. The place is one of especial sanctity as the frequent resort of Brahmá, who made here a *jugga* or sacrificial offering, and in the ghát called "Brahmawarth" planted a peg of iron, which the bathers crowd to worship with offerings of money and flowers. The attendance is large, and the fair lasts from a week to ten days, during which considerable sales of cloths, principally of English manufacture, toys, pedlary, and sweetmeats, are effected.¹ At Makampur (sometimes called Paháry, parganah Bilhaur) two fairs are held at the shrine of Madar Sháh—one at Basant or the commencement of the forty days of the Holi, the other in the month of Jamádi-ul-awal. Each fair lasts about fifteen days, but the former is of greater importance, as large numbers of horses, cattle, and camels are then brought for sale and attract purchasers from all parts of India. Goods, too, of every description are sold, and the offerings at the shrine, which are considerable, are appropriated by a large number of needy shareholders.²

Nearly every large village has its bi-weekly market, to which the residents within a circumference of five to ten miles bring their produce, and to which pedlars and (to the large ones) cloth-merchants resort. The most important markets are those of Gajner, Pokhráen, Satmara, and Baripál. To that of Gajner, in the month of Jeth, large numbers of cattle are brought, especially of the finer breeds. The charge for standing

¹ See Gazetteer, Bithúr.

² See Gazetteer, Makampur.

ground forms a large item of profit to the zamindár. Pékhráen is the centre of the trade from Kálpi. It has always had a large banking business, and is now rapidly rising in importance as a trading centre at the expense of the once prosperous town of Amrodha. Baripál also is a much frequented cotton market, and forms a point of exchange between the cottons of Bundelkhand and the produce of the Duáb or cloths and other goods from England. Sáfara is noted for its weekly cattle market for local breeds, the proprietor of the village charging a brokerage fee amounting in the year to about Rs. 250. In Musánagar the dye-root, *ál* and the cloth dyed with it (*kharua*), are bought and sold in considerable quantities. The Chanbepur market is well known for its traffic in indigo and tobacco, and its prices rule the quotations in the country around. No town is specially famous for any manufacture. In Narwál a colony of dyers and printers turn out the common prints worn by women as shawls or made up into quilted counterpanes (*razáís*). The blankets manufactured at Bhál (pargana Bhognipur) by the resident Ahirs and Garariyas are famous in the neighbourhood.

The following account of the weights and measures obtaining in the district are taken from Messrs. Montgomery and Claresmont Daniell's reports.

Formerly three kinds of *panseris* or weights of five sers were used in the bazar, viz.—

- (1) The *gola panseri* of 490 diagonally milled Farukhabad rupees (each weighing 173 grains Troy).
- (2) The *chhota panseri* of 480 ditto.
- (3) The *biálisi panseri* of 505 ditto.

These have nearly all given way to the "*numberi panseri*" of 400 Government rupees (each 180 grains), but are still occasionally used by the more conservative baniyas. Grain of all kinds was weighed by the *chhota* and *gola panseris*, excepting rice, which used to be weighed by the *biálisi* when sold wholesale, and by the *chhota* and *gola* when sold in retail. The various preparations of sugar were sold by the same weight. *Kirána* or spices were usually sold by the *biálisi*, except a few articles in which the *chhota* was used. Pewter, spelter, and copper were weighed by the *biálisi*: dried fruits, iron and copper and brass vessels by the *chhota*: ghi, oil, cotton, rope, twine and string, when wholesale, by the *biálisi*, and when sold retail by the *chhota*. The three denominations now most commonly used are the *gola* of 412½ tolas, by which

large wholesale dealings in grain are calculated: the regular Government weight of 400 tolas and the *pakka panseri* of 485 tolas, by which ghi, sugar, cotton, and spices are weighed. The unit of liquid capacity is a vessel called *ghanti*, holding 20 tolas or 0.4 pint. The following table, prepared by Mr. Daniell, compares the local and other weights:—

Cawnpore diamond weight	Cawnpore gold weight	Equivalent weight in grains Troy.	Government weight.	Equivalent weight in Avordupois	Gramme	Kilo-gramme.
1 bisal=		140625				
20 bisals=1 rati		28125				
21 ratils=1 tank		675				
3 000 biswas	1 barley grain	5202		Drachma		
11797 do	1 do. 1	2050		0190 =	0337	00038
				0761 =	1943	00134
118351 do.	5918 diamond ratil.	16617		6088 =	1078	00197
		45 =	1 tola	16157 =	2915	0029
		90 =	1 do.	32314 =	5831	0058
1280 biswas	2 tank 16 ratils	180	1 do	65828 =	11063	0116
	12 masals, or 16 ratils=1 tola	199708				
		900 =	5 tolas = 1 ghatak.	2 1/2 oz =	58319 =	058
		360 =	4 ghataks = 1 pauwa	8 1/2 oz =	237276 =	233
		1,140 =	1 pauwa = 1 sat	2 1/2 lb or 20 7/8 =	931105 =	933
		1200 =	5 sats = 1 panseri	10 1/2 lb or 10 1/2 =	466525 =	4665
		57600 =	9 panseris = 1 munda	10 1/2 lb or 82,265 =	37,321,20 =	37234

The *katti* gaz or yard is used by the tailors of the district, subdivided as follows:—2 *jaun* or barleycorns make 1 *angal*, 3 *angals* make 1 *girah*; 8 *girahs* make 1 *hath*, and 2 *haths* or cubits make the *katti* yard of 33 inches. The British yard of 36 inches is, however, gradually superseding all others. For land measurement, 20 *amwansis* make 1 *nanwansi*; 20 *nanwansis* make one *kachwansi*, 20 *kachwansis* make one *biswansi*, 20 *biswansis* make one *biswa*, and 20 *biswas* make one *bigha*. The *pakka* or standard *bigha* contains 2,450 1/2 square yards or 0.5062 acres, and from 2 to 3 *kachcha bighas* make one *pakka bigha*.

There is but one municipality in the district, that of Cawnpore city itself. In ten minor towns a small police force and conservancy establishment is paid for out of the proceeds of a tax levied under Act XX. of 1856 on the better class of householders, according to a

Municipalities.

¹ A bisal is a grain of linseed.

rough estimate of their means. This tax is assessed under the superintendence of the magistrate by a *panchayat* elected by the townspeople. The tax varies from 12 annas to Rs. 12 per taxpayer per annum.

The following statement taken from the treasury accounts shows the Revenue and expenditure on civil administration for three years :—

Receipts.	1874-75	1875-76	1876-77	Expenditure.	1874-75.	1875-76.	1876-77
	Rs	Rs.	Rs		Rs.	Rs.	Rs.
Land-revenue ..	21,17,183	19,37,776	21,15,121	Revenue charges,	1,26,456	1,31,902	1,38,815
Stamps ...	1,55,672	1,56,859	1,49,780	Stamps ...	3,173	2,702	3,066
Police ...	19,453	10,314	12,534	Settlement ...	94,921	1,12,269	1,04,316
Public works...	30,140	38,966	45,609	Judicial charges,	95,435	90,119	87,776
Income-tax ...	...	...	...	Police ...	93,929	64,332	2,17,927
Local funds ...	1,36,356	1,31,459	90,348	Public works, ...	3,90,944	5,54,147	4,42,559
Post-office ...	56,176	5,7765	59,638	General ...	...	...	...
Medical and education ...	1,093	1,340	1,351	Pension ...	18,460	17,570	20,182
Excise ...	1,21,690	1,31,960	1,10,184	Post-office ..	30,613	30,518	27,657
Transfer receipts and money orders	2,91,298	2,93,565	3,00,919	Medical and education	63,011	57,660	53,456
Municipal funds,	1,01,740	1,04,819	1,05,935	Excise ..	2,287	3,255	3,385
Customs ...	16,063	17,479	37,916	Transfer receipts and money orders,	8,28,898	7,92,363	6,56,786
Irrigation ...	2,46,442	2,86,284	2,79,917	Municipal funds,	95,136	1,09,773	99,929
Rates and taxes,	2,92,074	2,81,397	3,10,593	Provincial fund charges,	2,81,883	4,89,549	4,13,828
Miscellaneous.	1,71,328	88,180	1,00,305	Interest and refund.	46,724	55,006	60,964
				Opium charges ...	2,600	3,020	2,700
				Talabana charges,	2,143	2,159	2,838
				Malikana ...	31,946	31,746	30,916
				Miscellaneous ...	2,84,896	59,795	58,658
Total ..	77,56,668	85,38,263	77,60,389	Total ...	24,33,655	26,07,055	24,25,730

The actual assessment of the income-tax of the district under the Act of 1870 at six pies in the rupee, calculated upon profits exceeding Rs. 500, amounted to Rs. 7,67,657 during 1870-71. There were 1,432 incomes of between Rs. 500 and 750 per annum; 515 between Rs. 750 and 1,000; 380 between Rs. 1,000 and 1,500; 156 between Rs. 1,500 and 2,000; 605 between Rs. 2,000 and 10,000; and 61 between Rs. 10,000 and 1,00,000. The total number of persons assessed was 3,149. The tax was abolished in 1872. In 1877-78 the license-tax yielded Rs. 63,962 gross or Rs. 61,029 net.

Under the native rule the revenue derived from excise was included in the land revenue demand, but under the British rule it has always been collected under a separate system. The chief sources of revenue under this head are license fees for vend of spirits, duty on the manufacture of spirits, on the sale of opium and its compounds, on the sale of the various preparations of hemp, and on the sale of *tári* or the fermented juice of the palm-tree (*Borassus Jabelliformis*). The main part of the revenue still arises from the duties levied on the vend and manufacture of spirits made after the native method. These are collected by a still-head duty on the spirits manufactured and by a license fee from the sellers, or by farming out the right to collect these duties in a parganah or other fiscal subdivision. In those parts of these provinces where the distillery system is in force, the spirits are manufactured within a walled enclosure erected and kept in repair by Government at every sudder station and at every tahsili where there is a sufficient consumption of liquor. Any person may erect a still within this enclosure and distil spirits of any strength. If he is a licensed vendor, he may either remove the liquor to his licensed shop or sell it to any licensed retail vendor; and if he is not a licensed vendor, he may sell it to any licensed vendor within the circle of such distillery. The distillers pay a license fee of one rupee a year, and a duty of one rupee per gallon is charged on all liquor leaving a distillery. The vendor pays a license fee for which a minimum of Rs. 12 has been fixed. In some parts of these provinces, owing either to their bordering on native territory, as in the Jhansi division, or to the character of the country, as in the Kumaun division, the distillery system has never been introduced. Where the distillery system is not in force, the duties leviable within a certain tract on the retail sale of spirit manufactured after the native method is usually let in farm, or, in default of suitable offers for any farm, by separate license.

The following statement shows the collections on account of excise in the Cawnpore district for several years previous to the mutiny:—

Year.	Vend and duty on spirits.	Intoxicating drugs	Tári.	Opium.	Total.
	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.
1802-03 ...	21,734	...	...	...	21,742
1804-05 ...	53,540	...	351	...	53,891
1809-10 ...	83,827	6,624	1,782	...	92,233
1814-15 ...	1,18,552	16,154	5,831	...	1,40,537
1819-20 ...	62,101	13,471	3,411	1,929	80,915
1824-25 ...	1,06,816	23,626	2,194	3,534	1,36,171
1829-30 ...	86,681	22,939	3,801	2,649	1,15,570
1834-35 ...	72,980	21,993	2,883	3,064	99,170
1839-40 ...	69,491	24,113	971	1,882	94,408
1844-45 ...	93,104	21,991	642	2,016	1,17,753

The following table shows the collections and charges for several years since the mutiny. The letter "D." shows the figures for the district, and the letter "C" those for cantonments:—

Year.	License fees for vend of spirits.	Duty on spirits.	Opium.	Madak.	Tári.	Intoxicating drugs.	Fines, &c.	Gross charges.	Net receipts.
	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.
1862-63 ... { D ...	36,864	3,543	18,728	1,000	959	18,250	...	568	79,397
... { C ...	658	78,871	...	...	864	...	...	2,527	31,941
1864-65 ... { D ...	7,209	13,913	25,366	3,184	793	19,766	12,040	16,933	65,328
... { C ...	20,150	11,969	...	...	542	...	185	1,974	30,823
1866-67 ... { D ...	8,948	10,431	28,525	1,960	1,063	25,550	182	17,278	59,399
... { C ...	3,308	21,089	...	...	618	...	52	1,284	28,751
1868-69 ... { D ...	9,713	12,023	35,418	2,562	1,347	25,550	14	20,866	65,769
... { C ...	3,296	28,800	...	...	...	...	131	1,390	30,840
1870-71 ... { D ...	6,959	9,558	40,960	2,951	1,857	24,270	34	23,496	63,091
... { C ...	3,040	30,178	...	...	...	...	17	1,390	31,855
1872-73 ... { D ...	8,801	5,869	23,100	3,823	2,111	25,675	9	4,368	65,020
... { C ...	2,736	34,109	...	...	...	...	3	1,380	36,468
1874-75 ... { D ...	7,553	6,783	23,800	4,177	1,830	23,725	6	4,560	63,316
... { C ...	3,048	32,823	...	...	...	...	...	1,522	34,349
1875-76 ... { D ...	8,112	8,365	25,725	4,628	1,650	23,790	28	4,737	67,541
... { C ...	2,504	31,489	...	...	...	...	...	1,594	35,199

Stamp duties are now collected under the General Stamp Act (XVIII. of 1869) and under the Court Fees Act (VI. of 1870).

Stamps.

The following statement gives the collections on account

of stamps sold, penalties on documents inadequately stamped and on deeds executed in plain paper for the years 1802-03 to 1846-47 :—

Year.	Receipts.	Year.	Receipts.	Year	Receipts.	Year.	Receipts.	Year.	Receipts.
	Rs.		Rs.		Rs.		Rs.		Rs.
1802-03	2,625	1819-13	3,088	1822-23	45,294	1832-33	46,640	1842-43	65,261
1804-05	5,251	1814-15	20,706	1824-25	35,921	1834-35	62,217	1844-45	63,229
1807-08	7,933	1817-18	28,232	1827-28	47,625	1836-37	62,589	1845-46	59,261
1809-10	6,279	1819-20	45,761	1829-30	53,032	1839-40	68,897	1846-47	59,672

The following statement shows the revenue and charges under this head for a series of years since the mutiny :—

Year.	Adhesive stamps and hundis	Blue-and black document stamps	Court fees	Duties and penalties realised	Total receipts.	Gross charges.	Net receipts.
	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.
1862-63	13,643	71,611	.	196	85,450	3,604	81,847
1864-65	16,574	88,291	...	378	1,05,243	3,760	1,01,483
1866-67	14,086	92,652	...	1,933	1,08,671	4,866	1,03,804
1867-68	18,715	1,18,559	...	2,262	1,39,538	7,656	1,31,882
1869-70	19,109	1,31,036	...	1,186	1,51,632	6,817	1,44,815
1871-72	17,887	25,817	94,241	740	1,38,678	4,075	1,34,604
1873-74	17,004	27,360	1,19,002	216	1,53,582	3,509	1,50,073
1874-75	17,531	24,361	1,12,284	168	1,54,344	3,172	1,51,172
1875-76	15,118	24,409	1,14,763	446	1,54,726	2,703	1,52,023
1876-77	18,584	24,517	1,05,472	190	1,48,763	3,071	1,45,692

The mortuary statistics for the years 1867 and 1868 are too manifestly imperfect for publication, and are therefore omitted.

Medical history.

From the figures given below for the years 1869 to 1876 it will be seen that the principal diseases are fever, small-pox, and cholera, and that fever is endemic here as in the remainder of these provinces, although Cawnpore in comparison with other districts possesses little swamp or low-lying land. Small-pox is a regular annual visitant, the severity of its type depending for the most part on the heat of the season. Dr. Condon writes :—"As the thermometer rises, so does the proportion of deaths from small-pox; but of course the disease is aggravated by local circumstances, dirty habits and want of proper cleanliness in the village or locality." Cawnpore is remarkable

for the high estimation in which vaccination is held by the mass of the people. During the year 1877-78 there were 33,559 operations, of which 26,012 were successful, 4,180 were unsuccessful, and the results of 3,367 operations were unknown. Cholera visits the district almost every year, but no connection has been traced between the various outbreaks and any gathering or fairs. Cholera has not here followed any line of country: one day it appears with great virulence in a village, and the next day breaks out with equal force at the other end of the district. It does not differ in character from the ordinary type of Asiatic cholera, and usually appears in April and May, or else during the rains. Should it commence earlier, isolated cases are likely to occur during the remainder of the year. Even the most accurate observers with all modern appliances at their command and with unusual facilities for the study of the subject have failed to trace the outbreaks of cholera and small-pox to their final causes. Both these diseases appear to be endemic in India, being in many cases carried about by travellers, and no age, sex, or caste appears to be peculiarly free from their ravages.

The foot-and-mouth disease occasionally attacks the cattle in this district. The symptoms are the ordinary ones: eyes and mouth watering, severe cough, swollen throat with difficulty of breathing, urinary secretions scanty and very red, and faecal discharges very large and thin. In 1870 there was a considerable outbreak of this disease in the Bhognipur parganah, and though the people considered the disease to be infectious, they took no preventive measures, and the only curative measures applied were offerings at the temples.

There is a first-class dispensary in Cawnpore city and five second-class dispensaries elsewhere, viz—Generalganj in Cawnpore, Nawábganj, Derapur, Bhognipur, and Ghátampur. During 1875 there were 612 in-door patients and 24,330 out-door patients, or a total of 24,942 persons treated in these dispensaries, of whom 18,504 were cured, 166 died, and 510 remained at the close of the year. The entire local receipts on account of maintenance during the same year amounted to Rs. 9,026 (Rs. 5,158 from Government), and the expenditure to Rs. 8,344, of which Rs. 4,032 were on account of establishment, Rs. 2,283 for medicines and diet, and Rs. 1,199 for contingencies. The number of patients during 1876 was 26,703, distributed as follows over each dispensary:—City dispensary, 10,422; Generalganj branch, 5,705; Nawábganj, 2,310; Derapur, 2,833; Bhognipur, 3,316; and Ghátampur, 3,117. During the same year 68 major and 1,024 minor surgical operations were performed at the various dispensaries.

The following statement gives the mortuary returns for eight years : —

Year.	Fever.	Small-pox.	Bowel-complaint	Cholera	Other causes.	Total.	Percentage of deaths to 1,000 of the population.
1869 ...	11,992	6,327	1,552	2,801	4,061	26,733	22.4
1870 ...	19,242	264	...	30	5,651	25,197	21.18
1871 ...	24,934	1,204	3,506	174	2,751	32,569	27.39
1872 ...	25,428	190	2,579	1,609	2,700	32,506	28.17
1873 ...	20,663	5,479	1,655	149	2,492	30,438	26.31
1874 ...	20,155	7,428	1,668	23	2,755	32,029	27.72
1875 ...	20,661	897	1,913	1,161	2,155	26,790	23.18
1876 ...	24,575	250	1,603	922	2,550	29,900	25.87

The following list gives the drugs found in the district and in use by the native practitioners of medicine. Numerous other drugs are imported from the Himálayas, Afghánistan, and Bombay, but do not come under the head indigenous drugs : —

Native name.	Scientific name.	Native name	Scientific name.
Kath-karanja ...	<i>Cassia bonduca</i> .	Amla	<i>Emblica officinalis</i> .
Banarasi rai ...	<i>Sesuvium nigrum</i> .	Mahua	<i>Bassia latifolia</i>
Lai mircha ...	<i>Capsicum fastigiatum</i> .	Alfalfa	<i>Papaver somniferum</i> .
Adrak ...	<i>Zingiber officinale</i>	Moin	<i>Cera alba</i>
Babul-ka-gond ...	Gum of <i>A. Arabica</i> .	Imli	<i>Tamarindus Indicus</i> .
Kaladana ...	<i>Pharbitis nil</i> .	Gureha	<i>Tinospora cordifolia</i> .
Alsi ...	<i>Linum usitatissimum</i> .	Kaner	<i>Acium odoratum</i> .
Ajwain ...	<i>Ptychotis ajwain</i> .	Methi	<i>Trigonella farnungiacum</i> .
Pudina ...	<i>Mentha sativa</i>	Dhatura	<i>Datura alba</i> .
Dhaniya ...	<i>Coriandrum sativum</i> .	Kanda	<i>Silla Indica</i> .
Him ...	<i>Melastoma Indica</i> .	Anar	<i>Punica granatum</i> .
Madar ...	<i>Calotropis gigantea</i> .	Bel ...	<i>Agle marmelos</i> .
Amaltas ...	<i>Cathartocarpus fistula</i>	Haldi	<i>Curcuma longa</i> .
Dhak ...	<i>Butea frondosa</i> .	Nagar motha	<i>Cyperus longus</i> .
Singhas ...	<i>Tripsa bispinosa</i> .	Nirmoli	<i>Strychnos potatorum</i> .
Gukhru ...	<i>Asteracantha longifolia</i>	Sonamukhi	<i>Cassia elongata</i>
Khaskas ...	<i>Anatherum muricatum</i> .	Til ...	<i>Sesamum Indicum</i> .
Ukh ...	<i>Saccharum officinarum</i> .	Indarjau	<i>Wrightea tinctoria</i> .
Kakri ...	<i>Cucumis melo</i> .	Tulsi	<i>Ocimum sanctum</i> .
Khira ...	<i>Cucumis sativus</i> .	Jamalgosa	<i>Croton tiglium</i> .

There is little early history of importance attaching to the district beyond what has been recorded in describing the immigrations of the great proprietary bodies; and the part that Cawnpore played in the general history of the Duáb is told elsewhere. It is sufficient to note here that a considerable portion of what now constitutes the district of Cawnpore fell into the hands of the Bangash Nawáb of Farukhabad and remained in his possession from 1738 to 1754 A. D., when the Marhattas occupied the lower Duáb. They, however, gave way again to the Farukhabad Nawáb in 1762, who held Cawnpore until the close of the year 1771, when he was again superseded by the Marhattas, and they, in return, were finally expelled by Shuja-ud-daula in 1774-75. For the next quarter of a century Cawnpore formed an integral portion of the Oudh dominions and remained in the possession of the Nawab Vazír until the cession.

The British soon appeared in the district, for under the treaty of Fyzabad in 1773, the force destined for the service of garrisoning Oudh, and which was in the first instance stationed at Bilgram, was in 1778 transferred to Cawnpore, where the lands of twelve villages were assigned to form the cantonments. Cawnpore formed one of the seven districts created from the territory ceded to the British by the Nawáb Vazír on the 10th November, 1801, and then comprised the following parganahs or fiscal subdivisions² :—

Name of parganah.	Assessment	Name of pargana.	Assessment.
	Rs.		Rs.
Rasúlábád	1,90,417	Ghátampur	2,17,003
Bilhaur	2,17,365	Jajmau	2,74,405
Derapur	1,21,394	Sárh	2,12,136
Shiuli-Shiurájpur	1,25,126	Salempur	85,001
Sikandra	1,68,458	Auraiya Khánpur	1,61,523
Akbarpur	2,31,382	Kanauj	94,577
Bithúr	2,54,494	Kora Amauli	2,80,854
Bhognipur	2,19,025	Total	27,35,120

¹ Atchison, H., No. XXXII.

² Montgomery's Memoir.

Subsequently some few additions were made to the district: thus, in 1805, talúka Bhadek was received from Hamirpur, and in 1817 pargana Tirwa-Thatiya and talúka Bhúnasirsi were received from Etáwah. The district was now found too unwieldy for successful administration, and in 1825 the Tirwa portion of pargana Tirwa-Thatiya was transferred to Etáwah, and in the following year talúka Bhadek was attached to Kálpi and Kora Amauli to Fatehpur. In 1836 the district lost Kanauj, Thatiya, and Auraiya, and in 1837 taluka Bhúnasirsi was annexed to Etáwah. Since then there have been few external changes in the constitution of the district, and the only events of importance before the mutiny, the settlement of the land-revenue and the great famines, have been sufficiently noticed.

And now begins the story of that great rebellion which has made Cawnpore familiar as a household word wherever the English language is spoken. The tale has been already told by so many picturesque writers¹ that in a work like this great minuteness of detail would be needless but the same cause, in presenting an *embarras de richesse* of material, renders conciseness somewhat difficult.

At Cawnpore warnings of the coming storm were received earlier than in April. Arrival of most stations of the North-West. Towards the close of April, 1857, parties of the 19th Native Infantry, disbanded for mutinous conduct at Bahrampur in Bengal, passed through Cawnpore on their way to their up-country homes. The rumours spread by these men were of the most inflammatory character: Government, they said, had decided to subvert the ancient faiths of the country. For this purpose the cartridges served out to the native army and bitten by them had been smeared with the fat of sacred cows and the lard of unclean swine, while the powdered bones of the same animals had been mixed with the commissariat flour. The seeds of disaffection thus sown fell upon fertile ground, and signs of waning loyalty became manifest amongst the native troops at Cawnpore. The European residents had, though slow to feel it, abundant cause for alarm; for the town bore an evil reputation. During the lately suppressed rule of the King of Oudh it had become a city of refuge for bad characters flying across the Ganges from the not too exacting justice of that monarch. It had also been the depôt from which criminals, urged by pressing

¹ The following works are recommended to those seeking a better acquaintance with this grim chapter of our Indian history—*Cawnpore*, by Mr. G. O. Trevelyan, M. P.; *History of the Sepoy War and Life of Neill*, by Sir John Kaye; *Mutiny Narrative*, by Mr. J. W. Shaw; *Hand-book to Cawnpore*, by Mr. H. G. Keese, Esq.; *Story of Cawnpore*, by Mowbray Thomson; *Synopsis and Review of Events at Cawnpore*, by Colonel Rams; *Marshman's Life of Havelock*; and *Nánák Chand's Narrative*.

reasons to quit British territory, had embarked for Oudh. Cawnpore had indeed become the Alsatia of the middle Duab, and the traces of this fact were not to be removed in a day. The total native population was about 100,000, and of these the 40,000 who inhabited the military bazars were held the most disrepu-

Strength of the native forces. table. The native troops were, moreover, exceptionally numerous. There was a company of native artillery and the whole of the 2nd Regiment of native cavalry; while the 1st, 53rd, and 56th Regiments of native infantry completed a force which was not to be

And weakness of the British. despised. To counteract this strong body there were but 200 British troops, consisting of small detachments from the Bengal artillery, H. M.'s 32nd and 84th foot, and the Company's 1st Madras Fusiliers.¹ Nor was the chief military officer quite the man to meet the impending crisis. Major-General Sir Hugh Wheeler, K.C.B., commanding the Cawnpore division, had already lived for three quarters of a century, and it is no slur on the character of a brave and distinguished soldier to say that his best days were past.² There was another cause of danger which the English at Cawnpore were perhaps better justified in overlooking—the disappointed ambition of the now infamous Nana Sahib. The real designation of the person so

Nana Sahib. called was Sririkh Dundu Panth, Maharája of Bithúr. He had in 1851 succeeded to the property of his adoptive father

Báji Rao, last peshwa of Púna, but that father's pension, salutes, and other honours were denied to him. To recover these was the one object to which he devoted his ample means and ample leisure, and to which he was incited by the wily courtiers, chiefly Marhatta kinsmen, who surrounded him. From the authorities at Calcutta he had appealed without success to the Privy Council and Board of Control in London; and after this repulse no course was left him but to trust in chance and bide his time. At the opening of the fatal 1857 we find him a disappointed man of thirty-six, corpulent in person, in mind cruel and vindictive. Too politic, however, to show his resentment openly, he maintained relations of civility with Europeans, entertaining them occasionally at his residence near Cawnpore, and feigning himself, by a host of small kindnesses, their friend.

News of the outbreaks at Meerut and Dehli reached Cawnpore on the

May. News arrived of the Meerut and Dehli outbreaks. 14th May,³ and, while increasing the excitement already felt⁴ by native citizens and soldiery, opened the eyes of

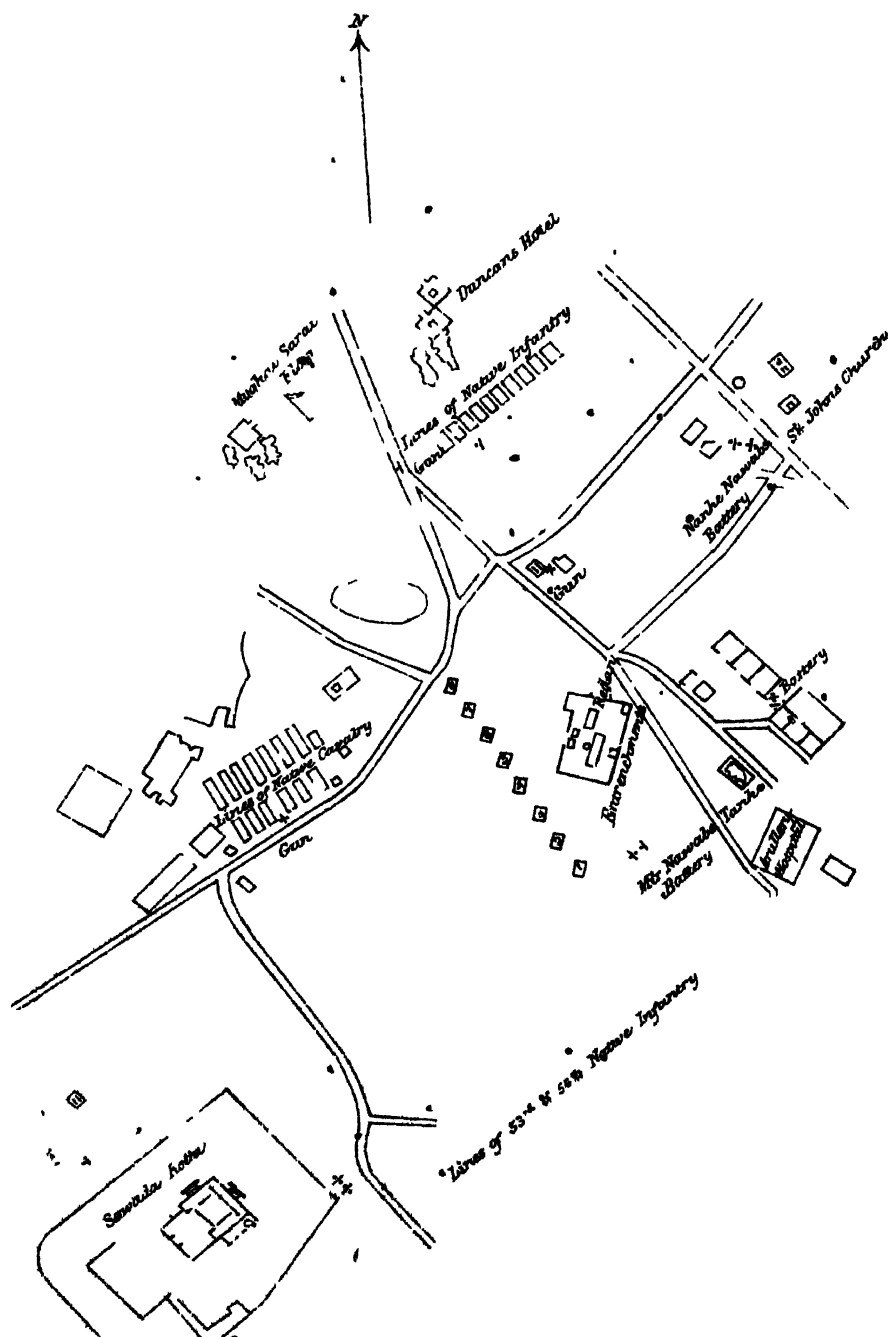
¹ Now H. M.'s 102nd foot. This estimate of the British troops is taken from Colonel Williams' *Review*, but evidently includes the detachment of the 32nd Regiment which arrived from Lucknow on the 21st May, *vide infra*. ² His age would under recent regulations have deprived him of all command and consigned him to the retired list.

³ Mr. Trevelyan mentions that on the night (10th May) after the Meerut massacre, the people of Cawnpore heard guns booming in the distance. But Nánuk Chand and the official authorities (Mr. Sherer and Colonel Williams) say nothing of this circumstance.

SKETCH MAP

SHOWING

SITION OF WHEELER'S ENTRENCHMENT



Europeans to the danger in which they stood. Of that danger the signs increased daily. On the 16th, the chronicler Nānak Chand mentions the traitorous language and high-handed conduct which he had noticed amongst the sepoys of the treasury guard that morning. "It began to be evident," writes this shrewd

Insubordination
of the native force
at Cawnpore.

observer, "that nobody had any authority but the *subādars* (native captains) and sepoys." On the night of the same day

the lines of the 1st Native Infantry were damaged by a fire which was ascribed to incendiaries. About the same time the son of a trooper in the 2nd Cavalry was heard boasting to his school-fellows that his father's regiment intended to follow the example of their comrades at Meerut. It was now deemed necessary to adopt measures of precaution. The artillery was moved up to the European barracks, while the European ladies and merchants took refuge in those buildings. The movement of the artillery gave rise to fresh rumour. The obnoxious cartridges, said excited tattlers, were to be served out on the 23rd of May, and the artillery had been ordered to fire on all who refused that polluted ammunition. A false prophet named Jān Muhammad, of the 56th Native Infantry, created a disturbance amongst the 2nd Cavalry by informing them that the native troops would be blown away from guns. He was put under arrest, and General Wheeler telegraphed to Lucknow that he thought the 2nd Cavalry had become disaffected. Increasing insubordination

General Wheeler
obtains reinforcement
from Lucknow.

soon led him to extend this opinion to the case of other regiments; and on the 20th he again telegraphed to Lucknow, this time for British reinforcements. The telegram reached Sir Henry Lawrence at midnight; by daybreak the man "who tried to do his duty" had despatched 50 soldiers of H. M.'s 32nd by post-carriages to Cawnpore.

But in an evil hour the General bethought himself of enlisting a more dubious ally. The Nāna Sāhib had several times, as matters grew darker, proffered his assistance to the magistrate, Mr. Hillersdon. He was now, in spite of a warning received by Wheeler from Sir Henry Lawrence, asked for aid, and arrived in the suburb of Nawābganj with 300 horse and foot and 2 brass guns. This was part of the force of 500 men and 3 guns which Government had improvidently allowed him to maintain in his retinue. On the march from Bithūr, the Nāna's force met with an adoptive kinsman who had ventured to bring a lawsuit against their chief. The obnoxious litigant himself escaped into a ravine, but his servants were outgalled and informed that the British rule would last for but a few days longer. Officers of all corps were now ordered to sleep in the lines of their regiments.

On the 23rd May, the day following the arrival of the Nána's force, General Wheeler telegraphed to Lucknow that the native troops were almost certain to mutiny that night ; and in consequence of this impression many ladies removed from the barracks to St. John's Church, which had been appointed as a rendezvous in case of alarm. The night passed uneventfully, but the morrow was a great Muhammadan festival which it was feared might be made the occasion of a rising ; and the Queen's birthday salute, customary on this date, was withheld, lest it should be mistaken for a signal of revolt. The holiday was, however, peacefully kept ; and again pleasantly disappointed, General Wheeler, on the 26th, telegraphed hopefully to Lucknow. Unbounded confidence seems still to have been placed in the Nána, to whom Mr. Hillersdon on that very day entrusted the defence of the treasury. At the same time it was held necessary to provide some asylum where the English residents might take refuge in case of a sudden outbreak, and food contractors were directed to send in supplies with the least possible delay.

The place selected by General Wheeler to become the scene of one of the most heroic defences the world has witnessed was the
 The entrenchment. dépôt of the 32nd Regiment, once the Dragoon hospital ¹
 This consisted of two long single-storied barracks, intended each for the accommodation of a hundred men, with a well and the usual offices attached. Round these buildings a trench was dug, while the earth thus excavated was built into a parapet four or five feet high, but woefully permeable to shot of all kinds. The enclosure so improvised was about 200 yards square. The General's choice has been almost universally condemned alike by military and civilian critics. Standing on an extensive plain at the eastern end of the station, it was commanded on all sides by large and solid buildings at distances of from 300 to 800 yards. On the north-west and south-east lay the lines of native troops ; on the south-west, a closer line of detached and half-built barracks, well adapted to furnish cover for an attacking force. Over and over again has it been wondered why General Wheeler did not stand at bay in the magazine near Nawárganj, to the west of the station. This was "an immense walled enclosure, containing numerous buildings and an inexhaustible stock of guns and ammunition. The position was watered and at the same time protected in the rear by the Ganges. The public offices and the treasury were in the immediate vicinity, so that the records and the money might have been placed in safety at the cost of a few hours' labour. The doors of the jail would have been commanded by our can-

¹ The site of the entrenchments is now marked by the Memorial Church, a Romanesque building of considerable size and architectural pretensions, where "stormed windows" and tablets commemorate those who died in the siege, the massacres and the battles of Cawnpore.

non, and at least one tributary to the flood of disorder pent within its bounds." ¹ But the magazine was rejected and the barracks chosen; perhaps because, as Mr. Sherer suggests, nothing more than a temporary bulwark against the brief fury of the first outbreak was deemed necessary, and it was close to the Allahabad road, by which reinforcements might arrive. It was rightly expected that the mutinous troops would on casting off their allegiance quit Cawnpore, but the unexpected treachery of the Nana upset all calculations. While both sepoy and their English officers were preparing for a struggle, fair order seems to have been preserved in the district. On the 17th May, the native officer in charge of Shiurajpur police-station captured and despatched to the Magistrate some mutineers with plundered property from the north-west. The cantonment police worked admirably, and throughout the period of anxiety not a single theft was reported to the cantonment magistrate (Major Sir George Parker, Bart). On the 21st Mr. Hillersdon gave certain bankers of Cawnpore permission to retain 500 matchlockmen for the protection of mercantile interests in the event of disturbances. They were enlisted through the police and distributed all over the city. About the same time the Agra and Farukhabad roads were reported unsafe owing to prowling bands of rebels.

The last-mentioned road was about to witness the first outbreak of mutiny amongst troops of the Cawnpore garrison. Two squadrons of Oudh irregular cavalry, which had a few days before arrived from Lucknow, were on the 27th despatched to patrol and clear the highway. They were known to be dangerously disaffected, and it was perhaps feared that their presence at Cawnpore might precipitate the mutiny of their already wavering fellow-troopers at that station. The result justified the expectation, for at a place named Kuráli,² some few marches from Cawnpore, they mutinied, murdering all their officers save one who escaped by flight (1st June). Another squadron of the same horse with two guns, also from Lucknow, were following them, but returned to Cawnpore; and hearing of their mutiny, General Wheeler retained the guns and ordered all the Oudh cavalry back to Lucknow.

It would have been well if the only troops despatched to Lucknow had been traitorous Oudh irregulars. But to aid Sir Henry Lawrence in overawing a large and turbulent Muhammadan city Sir Hugh Wheeler chivalrously weakened his own too.

Sir Hugh Wheeler
despatches British
troops to Lucknow.

¹ Mr. Trevelyan's work, chap II.

² See Gazetteer, IV., 686.

inefficient force. On the 2nd June, he sent to Lucknow not only the 50 men of the 32nd who had already come thence, but 50 men of the 84th belonging to his own garrison. The night of the same day witnessed an extremely ill-timed and unfortunate incident. A cashiered officer named Cox, who afterwards retrieved his former shortcomings by a gallant death, fired on a patrol of the 2nd Cavalry. His acquittal next day on the curious plea of intoxication caused great dissatisfaction, and the cavalry were heard to declare that their own fire-arms might some day be discharged in the same unconscious manner. On the following morning the anxious Europeans at Cawnpore received a sinister warning of what was in store for themselves. The bodies of a lady and gentleman murdered higher up the Ganges were borne down the river and arrested near the mouth of the canal.

Meanwhile Nána Sahib had since his arrival been plotting to win the Machinations of mutinous soldiery to his cause. Meetings with the chief the Nána. rebels were held in the houses of Subadars Tika Singh and Shams-ud-din Khan; but the places of assembly sometimes changed, and on the 2nd June, the conspirators were seen conversing in a boat moored beside a landing-place on the river, while on the following day a garden was selected as the scene of intrigue. At all these meetings the Nána was accompanied by his factotum Azim-ullah, whose energy supplemented his own indolence. Azim-ullah had begun life as a table-servant; but having acquired a passable knowledge of the English and French languages, he became a teacher in the Government school at Cawnpore. Here he attracted the notice of the Nána, and his fortune was made. Sent to England as an agent to urge the Nána's claims, he succeeded by an abundant display of jewellery and impudence in obtaining the position of lion amongst a certain class of London society. On his homeward journey he passed through Constantinople at a time when a severe winter had crippled our army in the Crimea, which he is even said to have visited in person. Once returned, he was no doubt able to console the Nána for the failure of his suit by exaggerated tales of British weakness. It was impossible that the Nána's conferences with the rebel ringleaders should escape the notice of the magistrate, for the man of Bithur had many enemies in Cawnpore; but Mr. Hillersdon was satisfied by the plausible statement that these meetings were held to concert measures for the pacification of the troops. There are indeed many proofs that the English residents, though alarmed, hardly realized the full extent of their danger. The despatch of sorely-needed bayonets to Lucknow, the neglect to send women and children to some place of safety lower down the Ganges, and the order which

just before the outbreak absolved officers from sleeping in the lines of their regiments, all point to an inadequate sense of peril.

By the 4th June, twenty-five days' provisions, a lakh of rupees, and several guns of small calibre had been already placed in the entrenchment. entrenchments, or as Azim-ulláh had jocularly called them in conversation with a British subaltern, "the fort of despair." Nine lakhs of rupees remained in the Government treasury, but that was under the charge of the faithful Nána. Far heavier guns and powder unlimited were stored in the Government arsenal and magazine, but these adjoined the friendly Nána's camp: and thus on the eve of a desperate struggle the English found that their own stronghold was ill-provided, while they had surrendered the sinews of war to an enemy. Their suspense was not to last much longer. Late on the night of the

The outbreak 4th, or rather early on the morning of the 5th¹, they were aroused by the discharge of pistols near the cavalry lines, and arose to find the quarter-master-sergeant's house in flames. Subadár Tika Singh had excited the 2nd Cavalry into mutiny, and the whole regiment now marched out towards Nawábganj. No attempts had been made to murder officers, but a subadár major or native colonel who had opposed the troopers in their robbery of the regimental treasure-chest and colours had fallen severely wounded. Having thus shaken off their allegiance, the 2nd Cavalry sent their compliments to the 1st Infantry, and inquired for what the latter regiment were waiting. The politely conveyed taunt had the desired effect, and without heeding the remonstrances of their colonel and officers, the 1st marched off to join their mounted comrades at Nawábganj. The 53rd and 56th maintained the show of obedience to their officers, and the night passed without further disturbances. But at about 9 o'clock on the hot summer morning which followed, some men of the 56th were seen to approach the lines of the more faithfully disposed 53rd Regiment, and to enter into conversation with the soldiers of the latter. During the conference a trooper of the 2nd rode up and informed the 53rd that the company of their regiment on guard at the treasury refused to allow the plunder of that building until joined by their comrades. The vision of plunder and news that their brother-soldiers had revolted was too much for the 53rd. The 56th set the example of a rush to the regimental treasure-chest, and they followed it. But the guns in the entrenchments opened fire upon the now undisciplined rabble,

¹ Mr. Sherer and Colonel Thomson both make the rising occur on the morning of the 6th. But the latter quotes extracts from Miss Blair's bible and another document found at Cawnpore, which prove that the troops mutinied between 11 P. M. of the 4th and 5th on the 5th June, as stated in all the depositions, as well as by Mr. Trevelyan, Colonel Williams, and Násák Chaudhary.

who retreated in hasty disorder to join their fellow-rebels at Nawábganj. A few men of all regiments, mostly native officers, remained faithful and, joined the Europeans in entrenchments. In that harbour the women and children had been gathered for some days, and on the night of the outbreak most of the men also had repaired to the same refuge. But now that the storm had blown over and the rebel troops were known to have set their faces towards Dehli, many officers returned to their houses; and boats were loaded with the property which it was proposed to send for safe keeping to Allahabad. Mutiny had not yet, however, claimed its last adherents. On the afternoon of the 5th the artillerymen from Oudh showed signs of disaffection and were turned out of entrenchments, when they of course started to join the regiments which had already revolted.

Meanwhile the mutineers had with the Nána's assistance plundered the treasuries, broken open the jail, and sacked or fired the houses of the civil station at Nawábganj. The Assistant Commissary, Mr. Ripley, had orders to blow up the magazine, but this they prevented. A road-overseer named Murphy was wounded by a party of troopers, but escaped. And devoting no further thought to their late masters, the mutineers marched to Kaliyánpur, the first halting-place on the road to Dehli, for Dehli, where a rebel emperor had been proclaimed, was "the centre towards which gravitated all the wandering atoms of sedition." After the departure of the soldiery the scum of the city and suburbs arose, gleaning up whatever plunder had been left by their dreaded predecessors. By the evening of the 5th every English house west of the canal had been rifled and burnt.

Early on the following morning, the Nána declared his treachery. It little suited his purpose that the mutineers should depart for Dehli either with or without him. At Dehli his importance would certainly fade and might possibly be overlooked. To gratify at one stroke his ambition and malice against the English, he must retain at Cawnpore their renegade but well-armed levies. He had therefore followed the sepoy to Kaliyánpur, and persuaded them by promises of pillage and golden bracelets to return to Cawnpore. Saluting him as their Mahárája and Tika Singh as their general, they elected other Hindús to lesser positions of command, and retraced their footsteps with vaunts of storming our feeble entrenchments. At dawn, then, on the 6th, Wheeler was startled by a letter in which Dundu Panth announced the intention of immediately attacking him. No time was to be lost, and the General therefore summoned all Europeans into the

The Nána persuaded the mutineers to return to Cawnpore

entrenchments. Some were too late in obeying the order, and eight or nine are known to have been murdered by the advancing sepoys. From these marauders the more respectable natives had hardly less to fear than the foreigners, for on the pretext of searching for Christians the rebels ransacked and plundered any house whose appearance excited their cupidity. The Hindu agent for the late Peshwá's widows, who had quarrelled with the Nána, was captured and blown from a gun, while his unoffending family shared the same fate. The first shots were fired, not at the British entrenchments, but at the houses of leading Musalmáns, who as members of what the rebellion would probably leave the dominant party had excited the jealousy of the Bithúr faction; whilst other obnoxious natives were placed in irons.

The exact tale of the little garrison now gathered into the entrenchments will never be accurately known; but excluding a few natives, Disposal of the force in entrenchments. servants and others, it has been estimated at between 750 and 1,000 souls. It included persons of every rank and colour, sex and age—from the General and the magistrate to the little daughter of the quadroon clerk, who beyond her name and dress had nothing English about her. The majority of the besieged were, however, men and families connected with the army, civil department, railway, and canal. Of the adults some analysis has been preserved to us. There were 465 men, of whom 400 were able to bear arms—a proportion by no means surprising in a society which banishes to their mother country the old and the sick. But the aged and invalid were little needed to supply our stronghold with its complement of *bouches inutiles*; for pent within its walls were 280 grown women, with their due share of helpless children. Pending the attack of the enemy, the combatant members of the garrison were told off in batches of twenty, each commanded by an officer. The triangular outwork on the north side of the entrenchment, facing the Ganges, and named in memory of valour on other fields the “Redan,” was placed under command of Major Vibart. At the north-eastern corner a battery of one 24-pounder and two 9-pounders was worked by Lieutenants Ashe and Sotheby. Captain Kempland defended the eastern curtain, while at the south-eastern angle stood three 9-pounders under the charge of Lieutenants Burney, Eekford, and Delafosse; next to these, and sheltered apparently behind the southern curtain, came the main guard under Captain Turnbull, which was flanked by a rifled 3-pounder under Major Prout. The south-eastern corner was protected by No. 4 of the unfinished barracks, a building occupied by railway engineers. Towards the north of the western wall were stationed three 9-pounders under Lieutenants Dempster and Martin; and their next

neighbour was Captain Whittings, who felt the Redan with his right, and thereby completed the circle of defence. Sir Hugh Wheeler of course assumed the general command, while Major Larkins superintended the artillery; but both were prevented—the former by age, and the latter by sickness—from taking any active part in the defence. The officers here mentioned belonged chiefly to the artillery, and were all in the Company's service. But the life and soul of the defence, the man whom all tacitly acknowledged as their leader, was Captain Moore of Her Majesty's 32nd, a blue-eyed, fair-haired Irishman of commanding presence and lively intrepidity.

The excitement of suspense was broken at about 10 A.M. on the morning of the 5th, when one of the guns which the mutineers had mounted and brought from the ordnance magazine¹ opened fire upon our entrenchment. The shot carried off the leg of a native servant, and the besiegers had therefore drawn first blood; but although the British guns replied and firing continued until nightfall, little further harm was that day done on either side. The mutineers were probably unaccustomed to the handling of cannon, and did not themselves venture within effective range of our field-pieces. But to the defenders of those paltry earthworks the day was made sufficiently grievous by the piercing screams which, as shot fell within the enclosure, reminded them of danger to wives and children. On days following that first baptism of fire such expressions of terror were rarely heard; and it was well, for all the stoicism which could be shown was needed. On the morning of the 7th the besiegers opened their attack in earnest. To the four guns of the preceding day they added from the same inexhaustible

7th June. source several of far heavier metal; and a hail of 24-pound shot came crashing through the buildings of the entrenchments. The rebel leaders impressed bigotry into their service, and both Hindús and Muslims were invited by proclamation to defend their ancient faiths. The residents of the butcher's ward raised the green standard of Islám, which at once became a rallying point for all the scoundrels in the city. Nor were their country cousins behindhand in the race for plunder or power, and many turbulent landholders² flocked in to harry the suburbs or serve the Nána's guns. One old and notorious reprobate, Bhawáni Singh of Siwáijpur, arrived with a following of 1,200 matchlockmen; while another, Rája Kishori Singh, brought 800 armed retainers.³ Some stray Europeans were

¹ The ordnance magazine was not their only source of artillery, for they had that morning seized several guns and a large supply of ordnance stores intended for Hoorkee and lying in boats on the canal.

² Nanak Chand, p. IX.; Mr. Trevelyan, chap. III, *ad. inf.*

³ Mr. Trevelyan's work, chap. IV; see also Colonel Williams' *Synopsis*, p. 6.

captured and murdered, and it will say wearisome details of butchery here to record that during the first week of the siege not a day passed without similar massacres. But the most important event of the day was the arrival at Chaugapur, some sixteen miles from Cawnpore, of detachments from the 7th Bengal Cavalry and 48th Native Infantry, on their march from Lucknow to Fatehgarh. As the cannonade of the enemy became more severe, Sir Hugh Wheeler despatched a faithful subadar to Lucknow with an appeal for assistance, and so closed the second day of the siege. The third (8th June) opened no less severely. The shooting of the mutineers improved with practice, and the mortality within our fortifications was frightful. Many ladies and children were killed by shot, splinters, or falling masonry, and by the evening every door and window of the barracks had been beaten in. The anxiety of the day was, however, relieved by an amusing incident. A green flag which had been moved into the Mughal Sarai, an open square north-west of the entrenchments, and within range of its batteries, was surrounded by a motley group of true believers. Amongst these, Azizan, the favourite courtesan of the rebel troopers, appeared on horseback in a semi-military costume; and beneath the flag was seated a maulvi who, rosary in hand, was absorbed in meditating whether the day was propitious for an attack on the infidel stronghold. A shot, however, which came bounding amongst the crowd from Dempster's battery made him hastily decide in the negative, and the saintly man, the wicked woman, and their various admirers scuttled to the nearest cover "with a precipitation not altogether consistent with the doctrine of fatalism." The same jangler may have caused the Nana's removal that day from Duncan's Hotel on the north-west of entrenchments. He now took up his quarters in a tent pitched in the Savada or Salvador House compound on the south-west, and there he remained till the end of the siege.

That siege continued with deadly persistence, calling from the beleaguered
 Trials of the be- a display of heroism unsurpassed in history. To realize the
 sieged. full extent of their trial two things must be borne in mind: the
 fierce heat of the Indian summer and the overwhelming multitude of the enemy. With an almost vertical sun, the thermometer at between 100° and 120°, and a hot-wind scorching as the furnace blast, English health and English energy were of necessity at their lowest ebb. But warring against climate as well as rebels, the besieged fought with dogged valour behind their wretched bulwarks, their eyes sore with dust and glare and their hands blistered by contact with sun-heated gun-barrels. It is almost needless to say that many members of the garrison died from sunstroke. Although, again, the superiority of the rebels

in artillery has perhaps been exaggerated,¹ there could be no doubt as to their numbers. Had they organised themselves into relieving parties, to continue the attack unceasingly by night and day, our countrymen must assuredly have been worn out and those feeble defences stormed. But the besiegers well-knew that each day must strengthen their own position, and preferred to bide their time; while sun and shot daily reduced the numbers of their antagonists, their own ranks were daily swollen by fresh hordes of allies.

Not that fighting at close quarters was unknown. It has been already mentioned that a line of unfinished barracks passed outside the south-west corner of our fortifications. The barracks in question consisted of eight detached buildings, numbered from south-east to north-west, and of these Nos. 2, 3, and 4, which had already risen to a height of about 40 feet, were nearest to the entrenchments. The remaining buildings also had been considerably raised, and by affording cover for musketeers partly commanded our position. Barrack No. 4 had from the first been held by Mr. Heberden's company of railway engineers, whose trained sharpness of vision and judgment of distance rendered their fire very deadly. The first three days of the siege were spent in vain endeavours by the mutineers in Nos. 5, 6, 7, and 8 to eject these gentlemen; but on the fourth, a reinforcement under Captain Jenkins so strengthened the garrison of No. 4, that the rebels abandoned their attempts on that side of the line and began at the other. They occupied No. 1 in great force, and it was now of the greatest importance to prevent them from winning the lofty walls of No. 2. To No. 2, therefore, the Plevna of our defence and the key of our position, Lieutenant Glanville was despatched with a body of 16 men. He succeeded in reaching and holding the desired post, but it was held only at the expense of frightful carnage. Glanville himself was soon desperately wounded, and his place taken by Mowbray Thomson, who survived to tell the story of that gallant defence. In a crow's nest half way up the wall of the barrack was posted a young officer named Stirling, whose unerring aim gave the mutineers many deadly lessons on the peril of exposing themselves. But the pickets of No. 2 and 4 did not confine themselves to fighting behind walls; when the places of the dead had been supplied by a fresh reinforcement from the entrenchments, occasional sorties were made and the mutineers swept from the barracks

¹ On that superiority Sir John Kaye and Mr. Trevelyan lay a good deal of stress. But by the latter's own showing the English possessed one 24-pounder, eight 9-pounders, and a 3-pounder (p. 119), while the enemy had, so late as the 14th June, only two 24-pounders and "several other guns" (p. 159). In point of trained skill the besieged must be allowed to have had the advantage. Their garrison contained 6 or 7 commissioned and over 20 non-commissioned officers of artillery, not to mention gunners.

at the point of the bayonet. In one of these sorties eleven sepoys were captured. Tied together with a rope in the entrenchments, they were guarded by an amazon named Bridget Widdowson; nor did these prisoners escape until their stalwart custodian was relieved by a sentry of the opposite sex.

But important as were the events happening on the area of conflict, others not less important were occurring elsewhere. On the 9th of June, the Oudh detachment encamped at Chaubepur, 9th June.

Mutiny of the Oudh detachment at Chaubepur, 9th June. Chaubepur mutinied, murdering all their officers except Lieutenant Boulton, who with a bullet-hole in his cheek leaped his horse over the low mud wall of the entrenchments next day. On their march to Cawnpore these new insurgents captured a toll-keeper named Carter and his pregnant wife. The Nana of course ordered Carter to be shot, and fully intended that his weeping widow should share the same fate. But the relicts of the Peshwa threatened suicide if her life were not spared, and she was accordingly taken to the women-chambers of Bithúr. On the same

Arrival of fugitives from Fatehgarh. day (9th) three boats, containing between 60 and 70 British and half-caste fugitives from Fatehgarh, dropped down the river past Bithúr. Though frequently fired on and ordered to stop, they pursued their course until just above Nawábganj they were brought aground on a sand-bank. They attempted to open communication with General Wheeler, but failing, appear to have remained in the same strait until two days later. Other business perhaps prevented the Nana from noticing them. On the 10th he established courts of justice, over which his elder brother Bába Bhat presided, seated on a billiard table; but if we may judge from the sentence condemning a butcher to lose his hands for the crime of cowslaughter, the standard of the justice dispensed was not very high¹. The same day saw the Nana engaged in ransom negotiations with Mrs. Greenway, a captive lady who possessed considerable property. But on the 11th he was at leisure to attend to the stranded fugitives on the Ganges. A party of mutineers, with guns, was sent by way of Nawábganj to capture them. When the guns opened fire on the boats, the inmates of the latter took refuge in some high grass growing on the bank; but burnt out of this shelter, all save a few who perished in the flames fled back towards the river. On the way some were slain, but most were taken prisoners, by a detachment of the 2nd Cavalry; and not one appears to have escaped. With hands bound behind their backs, and many without shoes upon their bleeding feet, the captives were led to the Subadár's tank, where they passed the night without

¹ It may be mentioned that in the establishment of his administration Dundu Panah received great assistance from the Deputy Magistrate-Collector Rámálál, whose treason was afterwards punished with death.

food. On the following morning (12th June) they were carted into Cawnpore and presented to the Nāna. As he had yesterday murdered the last man of English descent that could be found outside entrenchments, this large windfall of fresh victims must have been highly grateful to him. Knowing that the object held in view by the mutineers generally was the root and branch extirpation of the British in India, the prisoners pointed out the folly of supposing such extirpation possible. His brother Bāla Rāo, however, strongly advised the Nāna to listen to no such sophistries, and an order was given for their massacre. No regard was had to sex or age; men, women, and children were alike led to the plain west of the Savāda House, and there shot under the supervision of Bāla Rāo. The dead bodies were cast in the Ganges.

The day of this brutal massacre was also signalized by the first assault ^{And first general} which the mutineers attempted on our position. To this ^{assault by the muti-} attack they were probably encouraged by the fact that the ^{neers.} British fire had been slackened, in order to husband ammunition until the rebels should expose themselves or advance within more effective range. But they were greatly mistaken if they thought success possible. Firing from behind their wall into the rabble, the besieged easily repulsed the would-be stormers, who retreated, leaving on the field many silent witnesses of their discomfiture. The mutineers now returned to their old tactics of a pounding cannonade, and in order to replenish their stock of gunpowder imprisoned the principal seller of saltpetre. On the same date arrived the remnant of the mutineers ejected from Benares by Neill. But as representatives of defeat, they received scant welcome from the rebel chiefs, and were even charged a rupee a head for their transport across the river to Cawnpore. And thus closed the first week of the siege. Death had been fearfully active amongst the garrison, for fever had added its ravages to those of sunstroke and artillery, and many were the bodies cast at night into a disused well some ten score yards from the ramparts.¹ Few of our artillerymen had escaped wounds or death. Several of our guns, including the 24-pounder, had been disabled, and for the remaining 9-pounders no heavier missiles than 6-pd. shot were left. In order to supply cartridge-cases the ladies had surrendered their stockings. It was indeed upon the weak *physique* of women and children, who could share neither the excitement of combat nor the chance of selling life dearly, that the severity of this bitter siege pressed most heavily. Without changes of raiment, without means of washing, deprived

¹ This well, which lies near barrack No. 4, is now surmounted by a memorial cross. The first two persons who died were buried within entrenchments, and the spot of their sepulture has since been marked by a raised tomb and inscription.

of the servants to whose ministrations they had been accustomed, and of that privacy which decency so frequently requires, they bore through sickness and bereavement, heat and round shot, the weary burden of the day. But greater disasters were in store. One of the two barracks in entrenchments had a thatched roof, and although brave men had here and there covered the lead-bespattered straw with tiles and rubbish, it was foreseen that a conflagration was merely a question of time. On the eighth evening of the bombardment a heated shot from the Nanhe Nawab's battery at the racquet-court entered the thatch, and in a short time the whole barrack was ablaze. It had been used as a hospital, and with it were burnt all our hospital stores and surgical instruments, as well as two unfortunate artillerymen. By this fire, which lighted the enemy to continue the bombardment through the night, many women, children, and wounded persons were deprived of shelter. It is some satisfaction to know that on the same day a fatal explosion occurred amongst the shells of the battery which had caused all this mischief.

But it was resolved to show our rebel adversaries that this misfortune had not discomfited us into surrender. On the following night Captain Moore, who early during the siege had received a painful wound in the arm, led out 50 picked men for a sortie. They surprised and slew some sleeping native gunners, spiked and overturned the enemy's two 24-pounders, and blew up another gun, returning after effecting, at the cost of one life, a great deal of mischief. The intrepid daring thus shown appears to have excited some astonishment. "The crowd declare," writes a native chronicler, "that if the Europeans were all to come out and attack the rebels, the whole of the *badmashes* (vagrants) would run away; but the zamindars and the raiyats have surrounded the entrenchment on every side."¹ It is indeed probable that a very slight reinforcement would have placed the garrison in a position to chastise their foes. On the afternoon preceding the sortie Sir Hugh Wheeler wrote to Lucknow that 200 men would be sufficient for this purpose. The night of that sortie was unfortunately not one

of unmixed rejoicing for the beleaguered. The provisions in entrenchments, though nominally sufficient for twenty-five days, were, through the rascality of contractors, really enough for a far shorter period; and on the morning of the 14th, the sepoys who had stood faithful to our cause had been turned out of a garrison which was unable to feed them. Very grateful, therefore, were the fresh bread, milk, and eggs supplied to

those in entrenchments by a loyal excise-man. But on the very night of Captain Moore's bold sally thirteen of Zahúri's blockade-runners were seized by the mutineers, and on the following morning (15th) they paid the penalty of their fidelity by being blown from guns. The cravings of hunger now began to threaten our little band.

On the 16th June, the besiegers were reinforced by the arrival of the *Arrival of the Nádirí and Akhtari regiments.* mutinous 4th and 5th Oudh locals, known as the Nádirí and Akhtari regiments. Bringing across the river some horsemen and guns, they contemptuously declared that they could storm such weak defences as ours in two days. The Nána rewarded their vaunt with sweetmeats; and their leader, the Mír Nawáb, erected a battery south of entrenchments, from which a very damaging fire was opened. On the same day the rebel camp was joined by some less important auxiliaries, the Rája of Nár and his retainers.

The opening of the new batteries made the drawing of water from the *Difficulty of obtaining water.* well a service of great danger. The framework of beam and brick which had been built up to protect the drawers was soon shot away; and the place of the Muslim water-carriers, slain early in the siege, had been taken by British soldiers, who were repaid at a nominal rate of five rupees for every bucket. Under these circumstances, Mr. John Mackillop of the Civil Service claimed, with a jocose gallantry, to be appointed captain of the well. He held his dangerous post for a week, and when at length mortally wounded, begged with his last words that a lady to whom he had promised a drink should not be disappointed. To eke out the draughts that could with difficulty be supplied from the well, a few gallons of water were sometimes obtained at frightful risk from a tank on the south-east of entrenchments. But the water which was purchased with blood¹ could ill prevent thirst from adding its pangs to those of hunger; and Colonel Thomson informs us that he saw children sucking old pieces of canvas and leather to extract, if possible, some moisture for their parched lips.

On the 18th June the Nádirí *Second assault on entrenchments, 18th June.* regiment attempted to fulfil their boast by an assault on the entrenchments; but they were repulsed, and depressed² at their repeated failures, the rebels seem now to have turned their attention towards the plunder of the city. A list of all the bankers had been already framed, with a view of extorting their wealth. Sir Hugh Wheeler addressed on the same day a cheerful reply to a letter which informed him that relief from Lucknow was impossible.

¹ The expression is Mr. Trevelyan's. *"disputed."*

² They are described by Nának Chand as "quite

Baffled in their attempts to destroy the defenders by siege, the rebel leaders had now recourse to guile. At a meeting held in the Nana's quarters on the 20th June and attended by Bála Ráo, Bába Bhat, Azim-ulláh, Tika Singh, and other assassins, it was suggested that the Europeans should be induced to quit the entrenchments by treachery and afterwards massacred. Fighting, it was urged, caused an unnecessary loss of life amongst the besiegers. This argument was however insufficient to convince some of those present, and in consequence of divided opinions the meeting was adjourned.

False rumours spread. It was about this time that a spy of Azim-ulláh's caused by the besiegers.

a bitter disappointment to our garrison. Disguised as a loyal water-carrier, he on two successive days entered the entrenchments with false news of an approaching British force, and having thus ascertained the starved and wretched condition of the besieged, departed to return no more. On the 21st June more false news was spread, this time for the benefit of the native population. It was proclaimed that the Nana had been declared Peshwa at Púna, and that the rebels were masters of Lucknow. In honour of these two fictitious events an exceptionally heavy fire was opened on entrenchments. The rebels had increased their guns to twelve, and in three hours upwards of thirty mortar shells fell within our walls.¹ But as the cannonade failed in reducing the obstinate Faringis to surrender, some European ladies imprisoned at the Saváda House were next morning sounded as to the chances of a capitulation; and it was at the same time resolved to attempt once more on the morrow a general assault. That night sounds in the outlying barracks occupied by mutineers betrayed that unusual preparations were on foot, and as no men could be spared for a sortie, it was decided to clear those barracks by a stratagem. Sallying from No. 2 with a sword, and attended by Delafosse with an unloaded musket, Moore shouted out "No. 1 to the front!" and panic-stricken lest that well-known word of command should be followed by a charge of British bayonets, the rebels burst out of their barracks and fled.

This little fright did not, however, deter the sepoys from carrying their plan of an assault into execution. For the morrow was the

23rd June. Last general assault by the mutineers.

centenary of Plassy, the day on which the downfall of British rule had long been prophesied, and their ranks had, moreover, been strongly reinforced. The 17th Native Infantry had arrived with guns and treasure from Azamgarh, while thousands of lusty Rájputs had followed to Cawnpore the rebel chiefs of Nár, Shiurájpur, and Sachendi. On the morning of the 23rd, therefore, the whole force of the insurrection was directed

¹ Major Vibart's letter of the same date to Sir H. Lawrence.

against our stronghold. Troopers charged, skirmishers advanced, shielding themselves with bales of cotton, and guns were dragged up to within a few hundred yards of the entrenchment walls. But to no purpose; and again the attacking body retired discomfited to their lines. The rebel chieftains now agreed to discard fruitless force and adopt finally the tactics of treachery and massacre. On the following day (24th) one of the Eurasian ladies at Saváda, Mrs. Jacobi,¹ accepted the office of envoy to treat with the besieged, and arrangements were made for sending her into entrenchments on the 25th. She accord-

ingly arrived there on the morning of that day, and delivered the following caricature of a British proclamation, written in the hand of Azím-ulláh :—

"To the subjects of Her Most Gracious Majesty Queen Victoria. All those who are in no way connected with the acts of Lord Dalhousie,² and are willing to lay down their arms, shall receive a safe passage to Allahabad."

Impudently worded as it was, this offer was too thick a straw to be neglected by drowning men, and it at once received earnest consideration. The British loss up to this time amounted in killed alone to over 100 souls,³ not to mention the sick and the dying. Rations had been reduced to less than a quart of meal per head daily, eked out, when rare occasion offered, by a roast pariah-dog or joint of tough horse-flesh. To the severities of thirst, heat, and bombardment, allusion has been already made. To hold out much longer with so large a proportion of non-combatants would be to stare starvation in the face. In about a week, moreover, might be expected those heavy rain-storms under which our shot-riddled fortifications would crumble and our powder forget its office. Captain Moore therefore persuaded General Wheeler, against the latter's inclination, to treat; and Mrs Jacobi was sent back to Saváda with the answer that the Nana's offer was under deliberation. That evening the adjourned meeting to consider the question of massacre was resumed, and this time the advocates of treachery and murder prevailed. On the following morning (26th) Azím-ulláh and another rebel officer were invited to a parley, at which it was stipulated—(1) that our forces should march out under arms, each man with sixty rounds of ammunition; (2) that carriage should be provided for those who could not march, as well as for the women and children; (3) that boats properly victualled should be in readiness at Sati Chaura landing, to convey our people down-stream to Allahabad. In return it was agreed to surrender the entrenchments, treasure, and artillery. These terms being agreed to and the treaty

¹ Colonel Thomson says Mrs. Greenway, but the majority of the depositions, including that of Mrs. Greenway's confidential servant, is against him. Lord Dalhousie was the Governor-General who had refused to recognize the Nana as Peshwa. So Mr. Sheer's official narrative, but Trevelyan (p. 181) writes that "250 English people" were buried during the siege.

ratified, the Nāna ordered boats to be prepared for the remainder of our garrison. A somewhat peremptory demand that General Wheeler should evacuate the fortifications that night was met by a refusal as peremptory; but our guns and treasure, amounting to about Rs. 1,30,000, were at once delivered up. The famine-stricken garrison now lay down to sleep their last night in entrenchments—for many the last night in this world. They were startled from their slumbers by a brief bombardment, due to alarm at the accidental discharge of a rebel musket; but they might have been still more startled had they known that the Nāna had ordered five guns and as many hundred picked marksmen to be in readiness at the landing-place before dawn.

The Sati Chaura Ghát or landing-place lay about a mile north-west of Preparations at entrenchments. Its sandy beach is bounded in the rear by Sati Chaura Ghát. the precipitous rising banks of the river; but those banks are pierced by a ravine, bearing in dry weather the appearance of a dusty lane. This ravine is crossed about three hundred yards from the shore by a bridge; at its mouth stands the fisherman's temple, occupied early on the morning of the 27th by Tántia Topi, Tika Singh, Azim-ulláh, and an armed body of retainers. To the first-named officer had been entrusted the arrangement of the massacre. In the ruins of a house north of the ravine, which, perched aloft on the bank, commanded the whole line of boats, he posted a gun and strong body of rebels. The now ruined village of Sati Chaura, lying below the house on the same side of the ravine, afforded cover to a second body. On the bank south of the ravine and temple were drawn up a party of troopers; and about a quarter of a mile further down the river, beside another temple, was stationed a second gun with its attendant force; a third gun at Koilaghát, some 800 yards below the second, completed the arrangements on this bank; while on the opposite side, facing the landing-place, some troops with two guns concealed themselves behind a sandy ridge. Having thus matured his sanguinary plans, Tántia Topi awaited in excitement the arrival of his victims.

A little before 6 A.M. the doomed garrison began to evacuate the entrenchments. Carriages and beasts of all sorts were assembled to 27th June. Evacuation of entrenchments. convey to the river the many weak persons and the scanty baggage. Some of those who thus started on their last journey were in good spirits; for had not a committee of their countrymen yesterday inspected the boats, and were not those boats to bear them beyond the reach of bombardment and hunger? Amongst the large crowd who had collected to witness their departure were some mutineers who inquired kindly after missing officers of their late regiments—a reassuring sign which may have dissipated any

dread of treachery that existed. Had they, however, cast their eyes backward as they marched, the English might have observed ample causes of alarm. Lady Wheeler's ayah had received as a reward for her fidelity a bag of rupees; but lingering in the rear, she was forced to exchange her treasure for a sabre-cut. A few faithful sepoy were captured and dragged off from under the very eyes of their English adjutant; and lastly, Colonel and Mrs. Ewart, who had fallen some distance into the rear, were brutally murdered by sepoy of their own battalion. Meanwhile, the remainder of that gaunt procession neared the landing-place, and quitting the road, turned down the ravine towards the river. When the last man had passed, a double line of musketeers drew up across the defile below the bridge, so as to render escape in that direction impossible. The game had indeed entered the trap. Their enemies now barred them in before and behind, on their right hand and their left.

The slow march was succeeded by an embarkation as slow. The boats, about thirty in number, were grounded on the sand a few yards from the shore, but no gangway-plank or other assistance of any kind was given. Our men themselves waded through the water, bearing aboard their women, children, and wounded. By about 9 A.M. the embarkation was complete and the boats ready to

Second general be shoved off. But at that moment a bugle sounded from the massacre.

shore, and as if by magic a well-directed fire opened from all sides on our boats. The treacherous boatmen now leapt into the water and floundered with all speed ashore, but not before they had fired the thatched awning of several boats. At first, a few shots were fired in return at the rebels, but it soon became evident that safety depended upon escaping in the boats, which, jumping into the stream, the Englishmen attempted to move with their shoulders. But those vessels were not intended to be moved, and all but three stuck fast. Meanwhile, grape and bullets and ignited thatch did their work. After twenty minutes, when the massacred outnumbered the living, the troopers plunged into the stream and sabred the survivors. No sex or age was spared, for the extirpation of a race was the object in view. Of the boats that had escaped from the ghât two had drifted across to the Ondh shore, where their inmates were captured; but the third was aground in the river, and to this ark several stout swimmers from other boats made their way. The slaughter at the ghât was now partially arrested by an order from the Nána, who brought a command to massacre the remaining males, but spare the women and children. The latter, to the number of 125, were collected and huddled together under a guard on the bank, whence they were conveyed about noon to two rooms prepared for their reception in the Savada House. Seventeen Englishmen, whom the sepoy

on the Oudh bank had excepted from the slaughter of the two boatsful that had drifted thither, were sent over to the Nána, and their knell was soon afterwards sounded by the fusillade of a firing party. A few dying men had been left in the entrenchments at the time of evacuation, and two files were now told off to hasten their end.

It is now time to return to Major Vibart's boat, which we left aground in the Ganges. Her original complement of fifty persons was now swollen to about twice that number by fugitives from other vessels, and pushed by many shoulders, she was launched clear into the full force of the stream. A shot from the gun at Koilaghát carried away her rudder, and the boatmen had lost on board neither oar nor punting-pole. She was thus completely at the mercy of the current, which carried her through a shower of bullets some six miles down the river. In pushing her off the sandbanks, or crouching on her deck, many heroes of the defence perished; and before evening, when she again ran firmly aground, she had been lightened of Moore, Glanville, Ashe, Burney, and Boulton. In the night, the women were temporarily disembarked, while the men set the thus lightened vessel adrift. The awning, which had become the mark of arrows tipped with lighted charcoal, was cut away; and after narrowly escaping a fire-ship floated down the river by their pursuers, the boat and her crew proceeded on their dangerous course. At two o'clock the next afternoon the vessel was again brought up on a bank at Najafgarh, fourteen miles below Cawnpore. She was now opposite the domain of Bábu Rám Bakhsh, an Oudh landholder, who had promised that not an Englishman should pass his shores alive. Sepoys dragged a gun down to the bank and aimed it at the boat. But the piece was discharged once only, for at that moment the monsoon broke and the rain fell in sheets. The downpour did not, however, prevent the musketeers on shore from maintaining, through five drenching hours, their harassing fusillade. A new danger hove in sight as a boat, laden with fifty or sixty armed mutineers, bore down upon the stranded fugitives. Luckily this vessel also ran aground. It was promptly boarded by a party from our boat, and few of its inmates escaped to tell the Nána of the reception they had met with. Rising with the rain, the Ganges that night floated Vibart's craft and carried her some sixteen miles further down stream. In the morning her occupants found themselves in a back-water at Shiurájpur,¹ with little hope of egress into the main channel, and a strong force of the enemy on the bank. The Nána had indeed despatched two whole regiments to prevent their

¹ In parganah Bindki of the Bhatpur district. The place must not be confounded with the namesake in Cawnpore.

further escape. The musketry fire now recommenced, and the dying Vibart ordered Thomson and Delafosse to land and beat away their pursuers. They sallied forth with the only twelve fighting men that were left; and during their

absence a swarm of mutineers poured down upon the boat, capturing the women, children, and wounded, some eighty in number. They were conveyed back to Cawnpore, where the men were shot, and the women and children sent to join the other prisoners at the Saváda.

Returning to the river after scattering their foes, Thomson and Delafosse found no boat in sight. They searched vainly for about a mile down the bank, but were soon hotly pressed by fresh hosts of rebels. One of their party was shot down, and the remainder took refuge in a small temple overlooking the Ganges: Here they were surrounded, and here they slaughtered several of their pursuers; but they were again driven to flight by the smoke of the bonfire which the mutineers had lit around their asylum. They now fired a volley, and with the energy of despair charged down to the Ganges, which, however, but seven of their number reached in safety. Of these, again, three were killed in swimming off; while the remaining four, including Thomson, Delafosse, and Private Murphy of the 86th, outstripped their hunters and escaped. It was Murphy who several years afterwards became custodian of the Memorial Gardens at Cawnpore. Some six miles down the river, while resting after their long swim, they fell in with the servants of a friendly Oudh Rájá, Dirgibjai Singh, who sheltered them in his castle for three weeks, and eventually conveyed them across the river to the camp of a European detachment marching up-country. These daring men were not, as sometimes supposed, the only survivors of the Cawnpore garrison, but they were probably the only survivors who could boast of unmixed British blood.¹

On the day following the massacre of Sati Chaura the Nána held a review of the rebel troops, at which he had the satisfaction of hearing for the first time a royal salute fired in his honour. On the 29th, he gratified himself with the murder of an English officer who had escaped from the massacre only to be found naked amongst the ravines of the Oudh bank, and on the morrow a yet more splendid prize arrived in the shape of the captives from the boat at Shiurájpur. The same day he proceeded to

Bithúr, where on the 1st July he was enthroned as Peshwa, He is enthroned as Peshwa. The cup of his gratification was now full, and he lingered

¹ Colonel Williams gives a list of 25 such survivors, including the 4 now mentioned and 7 natives. The remainder consisted of 3 men and 11 women, all bearing English names.

to quaff it at leisure in his palace. Azim-ulláh and Bába Bhat, who had been left in charge at Cawnpore, ordered the removal of the British prisoners to the Bibighar, a small house so called because it had once been inhabited by the native mistress of an English officer.

But the mutineers were no sooner undisturbed masters of the situation than factions began to divide their ranks. The Muhammadans were little prepared to see the country they had once held pass under the sway of infidel Hindús; and the feeling in favour of substituting the Nanhe Nawáb's rule for that of the Nána gained ground. Dunder Panth had from the first regarded this man as his rival, and had at the beginning of the siege plundered his house and placed him in confinement. But murmurs amongst his Muslim auxiliaries had induced the Nána to release the Nawáb, and the latter's battery at the raquet-court had, as we have seen, played an important part in the siege. On the 3rd July pay was distributed amongst the rebel force, but it would appear that they were dissatisfied with its amount, for they declared that they would punish the Nána for his deceit in appropriating all the treasure and taking his ease at Bithúr. The Nanhe Nawáb, who foresaw that the feeling of the soldiery was likely to involve him in complications with his dreaded rival the Peshwá, absconded, but was captured and brought back a prisoner by order of Tika Singh. His advisers now became anxious that the Nána should return to Cawnpore. His presence was, indeed, necessary not only to allay internal dissensions, but to reassure the troops; for, on the 4th, sinister rumours of an English advance from Allahabad were rife, and on the following day these rumours were confirmed. Tika Singh now hastened to Bithúr to bring back his chief, who returned to Cawnpore on the 6th July. A division with 12 guns under Brigadier Jwála Parshád were told off to check the advance of the British.

Further butcheries were, however, to be perpetrated before the rebels could encounter the avenging bayonets. On the 7th July a Native Christian drummer was captured and shot, while on the 8th the faithful sepoy arrested on the evacuation of entrenchments were sentenced by court-martial to mutilation. But these little triumphs were as nothing compared to the prize which on the morrow fell within the Nána's blood-stained grasp. A second instalment of fugitives, numbering some 95 men, women, and children, had left Fatehgarh five days before. They were hotly pursued down the river, and about thirty had lost their lives from shot or drowning when the only boat remaining out of three approached Bithúr. It was fired on not only by the guns at that place, but by a party of

Arrival of further
fugitives from Fateh-
garh.

musketeers on the Oudh bank under one Jassa Singh. The fugitives replied as best they could, but were soon reduced by the heavier metal of their adversaries into waving a flag of truce. Jassa Singh now crossed over and captured the party, who were next day sent into Cawnpore.¹ After gloating awhile over his fresh victims, the Nána gave the usual order, and the men were massacred,

Massacre No. 4.

while the weaker portion of the prisoners were consigned to the Bibighar. Three males, however, received a respite from the general sentence of death: Mr. Thornhill of the civil service, with Colonels Goldie and Smith, were spared on condition of their effecting the surrender of Allahabad fort to the mutineers. They must of course have known that the condition was an impossible one, but they were undoubtedly right in catching at any terms which might save their lives until the chapter of accidents should bring them deliverance. On the same day Jwála Parshád's force quitted the Cawnpore district for that of Fatehpur, where they were destined to receive their first chastisement from the British.

The determined advance of General Havelock was beginning to inspire

Havelock's advance.

the Nána with serious uneasiness. Quartered at Núr Muhammad's Hotel, he is said to have endeavoured to forget his anxieties in strong drink and the embraces of a favourite courtesan. To reassure his followers, whom he not unjustly supposed to be almost as alarmed as himself, he from time to time issued lying proclamations. Five thousand British troops had been "sent to hell" at Delhi, and thirty-five thousand (through the kindness of the Khedive) at Alexandria. But on the 13th July facts compelled him to indite a manifesto of very different import. His victorious army, he complained, had been *deceived*, attacked, and scattered by the Europeans. Every brave man, therefore, was to join heart and hand in sending these Europeans also to hell. For the latter phrase, which he had borrowed from the style of the Musalmán chroniclers, the Nána seems to have felt a strong predilection. The defeat to which he alluded was that suffered the day before at Fatehpur, where Jwála-Parshád had been driven before Havelock like chaff before the wind. With 1,400 Europeans and 8 guns Havelock now continued his march up the Grand Trunk Road towards Cawnpore, while Bála Ráo was despatched with every available man to meet him. In vain; the Peshwá's brother was defeated at Aong in Fatehpur, the bridge over the Pándú was carried by storm, and the English entered the Cawnpore-district (15th July). Bála

¹ Nának Chand gives the 19th June as the date of this capture, a fact which shows that his narrative is not, as it professes to be, a diary written contemporaneously with the events it records.

Rao sped back to Cawnpore with a bullet in his shoulder and the tidings of his own defeat.

On the receipt of this unpleasant news the rebel chiefs held a hasty council

News of the battle of Aong reaches Cawnpore, 15th July. Some were for effecting a junction with the mutineers at Fatehgarh, others for retiring in the first instance only as far as Bithur; but it was at length decided by a slender majority to make one last stand on the trunk road near Cawnpore. On learning of the rout at Fatehpur, the Nana had consoled himself by the murder of eight native couriers captured on their way to the British camp; but the defeat of Aong demanded a more striking revenge. At the instigation of Tika Singh it was resolved to

massacre the prisoners. The first to suffer were the three gentlemen from Fatehgarh, together with Mr. Edward Greenway and his son, a lad of fourteen. The two latter had been captured at the beginning of the siege, but spared in hope of a heavy ransom, for Mr. Greenway was a well-to-do merchant. They were all shot at about five in the evening, beside the wall of the commissariat storehouse; and the turn of the women and children had now arrived. The captives of Bibighar were under the care of a youngish matron nicknamed "the Begam," who is said to have been a servant of the Nana's Thais; and she now informed her charges that they were to die that evening. Twenty-five out of about ninefold that number had already perished, for cholera and dysentery had been busy in those stifling little rooms. One of the ladies appealed to the jamadar or subaltern in command of the guard. He calmed her fears, and a soldier of his party angrily asked the Begam what she meant by giving such orders. The Begam thereupon flounced over into the next paddock, which was that of the Nana's hotel, and returned with five ill-looking ruffians. Two were Musalmán butchers; a third, also a Muslim, wore the scarlet uniform of the Nana's body-guard; and the remaining two were Hindu peasants; but all were armed with swords. The soldiers of the guard were now ordered to assist these assassins; but they had no stomach left for such work, and all they did was to fire their muskets through the windows at the ceiling. The five therefore entered the house alone, and shrieks and scuffling at once announced that they had begun their brutal work. It was completed before dark, and coming out, the murderers locked up their shambles for the night. It is a satisfaction to know that at least two of them afterwards expiated their offence on the gallows; but few save the most charitable will deny that this death was too good for them. The Nana is said to have passed that night in watching his ballet-girls dance and sing. In the morning the dead and the living (for some were not yet despatched) were dragged forth and cast into a

bricked well within the compound.¹ A few pale-children had still sufficient vitality to run wildly round the well before their pursuers, but all at last found a grave within it. That grave is now the centre of the Memorial Gardens. It is surrounded by a light gothic screen, over whose portal we may read the touching inscription:—"THESE ARE THEY WHICH CAME OUT OF GREAT TRIBULATION." Within, above the well itself, rises a pedestal gilt with another legend:—"SACRED TO THE PERPETUAL MEMORY OF A GREAT COMPANY OF CHRISTIAN PEOPLE, CHIEFLY WOMEN AND CHILDREN, WHO NEAR THIS SPOT WERE CRUELLY MASSACRED BY THE FOLLOWERS OF THE NÁNA DUNDU PANTH OF BITHÚR, AND CAST, THE DYING WITH THE DEAD, INTO THE WELL BELOW, ON THE 15TH DAY OF JULY, 1857." On the pedestal, at the foot of a cross, stands a palm-bearing angel from the chisel of Baron Marochotti. The statue is dignified and striking, and worthy of the position it occupies.

This last and foulest massacre was followed by a rapid and signal revenge.

Havelock approaches Cawnpore. On the following day (16th) Havelock's force halted to spend the noon at Abírwán on the trunk road, about three miles

south-east of Cawnpore. But though wearied with a burning march of 18 or 20 miles, they had yet the severest part of their day's work before them. For about a mile to the front, across the junction of the main road with the by-way which diverges into Cawnpore, lay entrenched five thousand rebels. The Nána's right and left wings rested upon walled villages defended by heavy guns, ensconced in groves which afforded excellent shelter to his sharpshooters. His centre was similarly placed and strengthened by a powerful howitzer. The superiority of the mutineers, both in numbers and artillery, was immense; and to advance along the road against their front would have been to court carnage, if not defeat.

Battle of Cawnpore, July 16th. Havelock therefore resolved to imitate the Prussian tactics

at Leuthen, and debouching towards the right, to advance under cover of groves against the enemy's left flank. Tracing a plan in the dust with his scabbard, he carefully explained the proposed manœuvre to his officers, and gave the order to advance at about half past two in the afternoon. The handful of volunteer cavalry were sent forward as if to attack the enemy's front, and the feint succeeded completely. Upon these adventurous horsemen the mutineers concentrated their fire; and our infantry had almost completed the flanking movement before a gap in the trees revealed what was going on. Our guns had not yet, however, come up; and those of the enemy began raking our

¹ It was at first supposed that female captives in the Bibighat had been subjected to violence other than that of mere massacre; but later investigations by Colonel Williams and Mr. Shorer proved this belief to be unfounded. One young lady was, indeed, snatched from the slaughter at Nati Chaura and carried off by her deliverer, a cavalry trooper. But she was not of pure European blood.

ranks to some purpose. Secure in their artillery, the rebels derisively ordered their bands to play "Cheer, boys, cheer," and it was to the somewhat discordant combination of this air and their own pibroch that the 78th Highlanders rushed upon their foe, followed by the 64th Regiment. A few minutes saw the left wing of the enemy flying before our bayonets, its bands silenced, its guns taken,¹ and the village upon which it rested occupied by our troops. Many of the sepoys fled altogether from the field, but others rushed to strengthen their centre; and against this, after a few stirring words from Havelock, the British advanced. The infantry were now joined by the cavalry, and after a brief struggle, ringing cheers proclaimed that the Nana's centre had met with no better fortune than his left. Leaving the rebel howitzer and its village in charge of the cavalry, the infantry now swept down upon the enemy's right. Here, again, they carried all before them, and two fresh guns were added to the list of those captured. Thus had the enemy's original order of battle been completely destroyed. But if our tired little force hoped that the day was won, they were disappointed. The rebels rallied to the rear of their first position in another wooded village. The guns which had been posted here in view of a second resistance now opened a damaging fire upon our advancing columns: and still the weary bullocks had failed to drag our artillery to the front. At this critical juncture was heard the clear voice of Havelock inquiring what regiment would take that village. Again our infantry rushed forward, and the capture of the village was a thing of the past. The enemy now appeared to be in full retreat on Cawnpore, and our exhausted heroes threw themselves on the ground to rest. But their work was not over. Resolved to strike one more blow for crown or pyre, the Nana rallied in person his dispirited troops. He had posted three guns, one (a 24-pounder) upon the branch road to Cawnpore; and from these guns the recumbent British now received a fresh challenge. Two bodies of rebel cavalry rode forward across the plain, while their unmounted comrades advanced with much blare of trumpets and beat of drums. Our men leapt to their feet and advanced once more to meet the foe. Many a fatal gap was hewn in their ranks by the grape of the enemy; but two circumstances now occurred which finally decided the battle in favour of

the British. Led by the General's son and aide-de-camp, the present Sir Henry Havelock, the infantry charged and captured the 24-pounder which had wrought such havoc in their columns; and at the same time four English guns were brought to bear on the enemy. The well-directed fire of this battery soon pounded the rebels into a precipitate flight

¹ In the capture of guns the honours were divided, three being taken by the 64th and three by the 78th Regiment.

towards Cawnpore, and Havelock's contingent bivouacked at nightfall two miles from the station. That evening, the Nāna rode through Cawnpore in hasty flight towards Bithūr. To the last he had continued his gasconading manifestoes; and as, panting with unaccustomed exercise, he galloped past, he might have heard his criers proclaiming that but one hundred Englishmen had escaped extermination, and that as many rupees would be given for the head of each survivor.

On the following morning (17th July) Havelock's force marched into Cawnpore and encamped on the parade-ground. The rebel troops were now in disorderly retreat towards Fatchgarh, Lucknow, and elsewhere; but as the English advanced guards neared the city a body of horse, left behind for that purpose, fired the magazine. The event is graphically described by Mr. Sherer, who, entering Cawnpore with Havelock, assumed the duties of magistrate and collector:--"Suddenly in the direction of Cawnpore, a gigantic tongue of flame leapt up as it were to lick the sky, followed by a large cloud of smoke which, preserving somewhat the shape of a balloon, ascended swiftly. We looked at each other, and that moment experienced a slight shock like a weak electric current, and then the mighty thunder broke in the distance, and seemed to roll towards us and around us." The English were now at liberty to examine the various places of interest connected with the rebel occupation. On seeing the entrenchments, all wondered how the garrison could for even two days have held out behind such defences; but on peering down the well at the Bithūgarh our soldiery were inspired with bitter feelings of revenge. It is not surprising, therefore, that Havelock soon found himself forced to forbid, under penalty of death, the acts of retribution which the scenes of massacre around were well calculated to suggest. To remove his men from the temptations of drink, robbery, and worse, as well as to protect the city against the attack he was led to expect from Bithūr, the General next day (18th) marched out to the Mission premises beside the grand trunk road at Nawābganj.

He had, however, nothing to fear from Bithūr. Deserted and threatened by the bulk of his followers, the Nāna had on the preceding night fled from his palace. Even in trepidation he did not forget his cruelty, and before departing he ordered the execution of Mrs. Carter and the baby of whom she had been delivered beneath his roof. Embarking on the Ganges with the ladies of his household, he gave out that he was about to commit suicide by drowning, and that the extinction of a light would mark the moment of his immersion. The sturdy beggars known as "sons of the Ganges" (*Ganga putra*) were watching on the shore, and when in midstream the light was extinguished, rushed up with

a yell to plunder his palace. Meanwhile, the crafty Nana, who by this blind had avoided pursuit for at least one night, was disembarking under cover of darkness on the Oudh shore. He was seen a few months later, with a starving retinue, in the forests to the north of that province; and it is believed that he ultimately escaped, almost unattended, into the mountains of Nepal. If still alive, he is about fifty-seven years of age, and it is hardly probable that he will be ever captured to adorn a gallows.

On the same morning, as General Havelock marched out to Nawabganj, Mr. Sherer proclaimed in the city the restoration of British power. The mercantile population expressed and, as men who had property to be plundered, doubtless felt great delight at our return. Mr. Sherer at once despatched police officers to take charge of the Sirsaul, Saehendi, and Shiurajpur stations, in order that the roads to Allahabad, Kálpí, and Delhi might be kept open. Next morning (19th) Major Stephenson was detached with a party of the Madras Fusiliers to reconnoitre Bithúr. Finding the place almost deserted, he destroyed the Nana's palace, and returned to Cawnpore with a booty of nineteen guns. On the 20th General Neill arrived with more Europeans from Madras and elsewhere; in all about 400 men. A new entrenchment, commanding the ferry between Cawnpore and Oudh, was now constructed; and in this entrenchment Neill was left on the 25th with a garrison of some 300 British soldiers, while Havelock crossed the Ganges to relieve Lucknow. One of Neill's first acts on assuming command was to investigate and punish cases of massacre. Rebel ringleaders were compelled before execution to clean up a portion of the pool of blood, still two inches deep, on the floor of the Bibighar. By so doing high-caste Hindus died in what they imagined to be a state of spiritual uncleanness; and Neill has by a perhaps excessive humanitarianism been condemned for thus adding to the terrors of death. His object was, however, "to inflict a fearful punishment for a revolting, cowardly, barbarous deed, to strike terror into these rebels;" and there are many who think that the punishment chosen was not disproportionate to the offence. For whatever blame may attach to those executions the magistrate of the district was not responsible. On taking command General Neill had informed Mr. Sherer that the occupation of Cawnpore was purely military, and had placed Captain Bruce of the Bombay army in charge of all police arrangements. The magistrate was thus for the time superseded.

Not long after Havelock's departure, the 42nd Native Infantry, which had mutinied at Ságar, entered the district by the Kálpí road and advanced on Akbarpur. It was supposed that thence they

Invasion of the
42nd Native Infantry.

would march straight on Bithúr; but making diversions first to the right and afterwards to the left, they murdered the officers in charge of Sachendi and Shiurájpur police-stations. Halting finally at Bithúr, they became the nucleus of a serious gathering. They had come provided with two small guns and some irregular horse, and were now joined by stray men from the 2nd Cavalry and 3rd and 17th Infantry. General Neill constantly marched in force through the environs of the town, twice sending an armed steamer up the river to Bithúr; and awed perhaps by these demonstrations, the enemy confined its movements against Cawnpore to a few nocturnal rambles in the suburbs. But the presence of a rebel force so near Cawnpore was not to be tolerated. On the 16th August, therefore, soon after returning from his swamp-defeated expedition towards Lucknow, Havelock marched to Bithúr and bombarded sedition out of the town.

Police posts were now re-established at Bithúr, Sachendi, and Shiurájpur, and the gradual recovery of British rule began to alarm rebel landholders. Several, including the Rája (Durga Parshád) of Sachendi, attempted to make their peace, and received in answer the promise of a fair trial. "But this," writes Mr. Sherer, "did not meet their views. Gradually, as it became seen that Cawnpore was only a garrison, when it was clearly known that the troops collecting at Cawnpore had not for their immediate object the pacification of the Dakb, but were intended to cross the river, this desire to conciliate died away; and the disaffected began to look towards Gwáliar as affording them some hope of a second subversion of the British power, and this time with a more permanent success."

Such hopes were, however, unlikely to be realized for some time. In September, English government became yet more firmly re-established. On the 16th of the month arrived large reinforcements under the "Bayard of India," Sir James Outram, who, refusing to supersede Havelock, enlisted as a volunteer under that leader. By this time police-stations at Sirsaul, Ghátampur, and Bhognipur, with outposts at Bilhaur and in the neighbourhood of Cawnpore, had been added to those already existing. Revenue, too, was being collected in the Huzúr tahsil, Bithúr, and parts of Sárh Salempur, Ghátampur, Rasúlabad, and Shiurájpur. But the boat-bridge across the Ganges had now been reconstructed; and on the 19th the British force under Havelock, Neill, and Outram left Cawnpore to attempt once more the relief of Lucknow. Any evil effects which might have resulted from their departure were counteracted for the time by news that on the same date Dehli had fallen. But prestige alone was insufficient to extend our sway in the district, and matters remained much in the same position as before. The Meo Thákurs, assisted by

Rāja Bháo and Kalandar Gíř Gosháin, kept Bhognipur, Sikandra, and Akbarpur in constant turmoil. In Rasúlábád the party against us was headed by the Gaúr Thákurs under the Rāja of Nár (Daryáo Singh); but our cause found in the same tahsil several influential supporters. Shiúli and Shiurájpur were sometimes harried by errant horsemen from the squadrons of the Nána or Nirpat Sing. The Chandet Rájás of Sachendi and Shiurájpur (Sáti Parshád) continued to give active assistance to our enemies, nor did the murder of policemen cease; and the officers in charge of the Bithúr and Sachendi stations were slain—the former by rebels from the Oudh bank, the latter by a party from Akbarpur.

In October the security of the district was threatened with a severer danger. The capture of Dehli had driven down-country large bodies of fugitive mutineers. One such party under Bakht

Khán had crossed the Jumna at Muttra (Mathura), and passing hastily down the Duáb penetrated as far as Shiurájpur. But by this time there was fortunately a British force to resist the marauders. Marching from Cawnpore with 600 infantry and several field guns, Brigadier Wilson came, saw, and conquered. After a mere brush with our troops on the 19th, the rebels fell back, to be almost annihilated at Kanauj a few days later by Greathed's pursuing column from Dehli. On the 26th this column arrived at Cawnpore, being succeeded on the 9th of the next month by a large force under the Commander-in-Chief, Sir Colin Camp-

November. Sir
Colin Campbell passes
through Cawnpore.

bell.¹ Ominous rumours were afloat heralding the advance of a powerful rebel contingent from Gwáliar, but Sir Colin had before him a more important task than the defence of Cawnpore. Leaving here a small force under General Windham, he hurried on to relieve Havelock, who had succeeded in entering Lucknow only to be closely blockaded therein.

Seeing the coast fairly clear, the Gwáliar contingent crossed the Jumna and advanced along the Kálpi road towards Cawnpore. On the 26th November General Windham went out to meet them at Bhaunti, some ten miles down that road, and giving them a very decided repulse, captured one of their 10-inch howitzers. But confident in the superiority of their numbers, the rebels were not thus to be foiled. Quitting the highway which had witnessed their defeat, they next morning struck across country to the grand trunk road; and receiving at Rúwálpur on that road a large and welcome reinforcement from Oudh, they swooped down upon Cawnpore. This manœuvre, which General Windham's force was too weak to prevent, placed the rebels once more in possession of the city, and the British troops passed that night within

¹ Afterwards Lord Clyde.

their entrenchments. But speedy delivery was at hand. Sir Colin Campbell, after raising the siege of Lucknow and giving its death-blow to the rebellion in Oudh, was already returning to Cawnpore. On the evening of the 28th, as the garrison were resting after a successful sally, he rode into the beleaguered entrenchments. Before crushing the insurgents he allowed his men a few days' rest, but a desultory cannonade was maintained on both sides; and when, on the

December. Civil 1st December, Captain Bruce surrendered charge of the rule re-established. district to Mr. Sherer, round shot were whizzing overhead.

Meanwhile the enemy was being daily reinforced by straggling bands of rebels, including some of those who had mutinied at Cawnpore. Tántia Topi and Jwála Parshád revisited the scene of their former atrocities. But while the Gwáliar force was hopeful, the late followers of the Nána are described as despondent. They knew by experience what sort of prowess they had to encounter. The unfortunate city was again subjected to almost daily plunder by the mutineers, sugar and sweetmeats being apparently the booty which was most in demand. But the citizens had their consolations. The supplies imported for the consumption of the rebel forces produced a glut in the market, and those who had perhaps been grumbling at war prices had now the chance of buying wheat at 21 sers the rupee. Little remains to be told. On the 6th December Sir Colin Campbell

December 6th issued from his stronghold, scattered the Gwáliar contingent Second battle of in every direction and captured all their guns. The action Cawnpore. was rather a rout than a battle. The enemy had taken up a position on the other side of the canal; but when this had been crossed under a heavy fire, the rebels were virtually defeated. They were pursued and severely cut up by the cavalry under Sir Hope Grant. "The delusion," writes an observant witness, "was over. The district saw that British supremacy was inevitable; and sick of misrule and confusion, it finally succumbed."

On the 18th December, Brigadier Walpole's column began its march through the district, furnishing an opportunity for the final Final pacification of the district, December, 1857—May, 1858 re-establishment of police-stations at Akbarpur, Rasúlábád, Derápur, Sirsaul, and Ghátampur. To the three places first named their tahsils were also restored. Towards the close of the month the commander-in-chief quitted Cawnpore for Fatehgarh, and as he passed northwards through Shiurájpur and Bilhaur, those towns were once more provided with police-stations. In January, Sir Colin returned to Cawnpore, where he lingered until at the end of February a final advance was made on Lucknow. Bhognipur and Sikandra continued under the mutinous influence of Kálpi; but the presence at Akbarpur of a movable column under Colonel Maxyell restrained them from active rebellion.

At length, on the 23rd May, Kálpí yielded to Sir Hugh Rose¹. Turbulence in the southern parganahs of this district subsided, and the magistrate was enabled to report "*uláque paz.*"

A few minor incidents which occurred before the final quenching of rebellion are thus noted by Mr. Sherer:—"I recall the burning of Rasúlábád tahsílí by the fugitives after the battle of Khajwa in Fatehpur. I recall a raid of Ráo Sáhib from the Ganges to the Jumna, and an attack on Rasúlábád by Etáwa zamíndáts; but these were detached incidents, scarcely calling for notice in a narrative of this kind. I followed but the other day² close upon the retreating footsteps of Fíroz Sháh, but I found the ploughman in the field; the boy singing at the well as he urged the bullocks down the slope; the old woman sitting at her door, twisting her little cotton gin (I fear with scarcely velocity enough to compete with the new world) and her daughters grinding the millet—all supremely unconscious of the descendant of Tímúr, who with somewhat unseemly haste had made but yesterday a royal progress through their fields and villages. The taste for misrule has clearly for the time departed. The people have seen that neither Rája nor Nawáb can construct a practicable administration, and the old rule seems better than none."

It remains to notice the punishments with which this sanguinary rebellion was visited. Amongst many executions, that of Tántia Topi was the most important. A fine levied upon disloyal citizens of Cawnpore was devoted to the construction of the Memorial Gardens, and the following forfeitures of land belonging to seditious chiefs were enforced:—

Name of rebel.	Villages forfeited.	
	In whole.	In part.
Sati Parshád Rája of Shiurájpur...	16	25
Durga Parshád, Rája of Sachendi	4	4
Daryáo Singh, Rája of Nár	...	4
Others	61	79
Total	81	112

¹ Afterwards Lord Strathnairn.

² i. e. at the close of 1858.

GAZETTEER OF THE CANNPORE (KÁNHĀPUR) DISTRICT.

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Gazetteer of the district.

AKBARPUR, the head-quarters of the parganah and talúq so named, stands on an unmetalled branch of the metalled Kalpi road, 2½ miles from Cawnpore and 8 from the Rúra station of the East Indian Railway. The population in 1872 numbered 4,911 souls. Known originally as Guráikhera, the town was subsequently renamed after the Emperor Akbar (1556-1605). It has superseded Bára as the scene of a twice-weekly market, and is enlivened by Chait

(March-April) by a small fair. The public buildings are a tahsili, munsifi, first-class police-station, imperial post-office, and school. Akbarpur can, moreover, boast of two fine tanks—one built in the reign of the Nawab Vazir (1747-1801) by a tax farmer named Sital Shukul, the other in later times by a distiller called Chabba. Act XX of 1856 (the Chaukidari Act) is in force here, and in 1876-77 the house-tax thereby imposed gave, with miscellaneous receipts, an income of Rs. 1,116. This was spent chiefly on conservancy, local improvements, and the police establishment, which consisted of 13 chaukidars or watchmen.

AKBARPUR, the most central parganah or tahsil¹ of the Cawnpore district, is bounded on the north by parganahs Rasulabad and Shiurajpur; on the east by parganah Tijman; on the south by parganahs Ghátampur and Bhognipur; and on the west by parganah Derapur. According to its settlement records, Akbarpur contains 158,029 acres, of which 51,105 are unassessable, 20,552 culturable, and 86,372 cultivated.

Passing for some distance through the north of the parganah, the river Rind skirts afterwards the north-east and eastern boundaries. Along a portion of the southern frontier flows the Sengur. A large lake at Gogamau with a smaller one at Narha are the sources of the Non, the greater of the two confluent forming this stream being sometimes named the Neora. In the watersheds and basins of these three rivers the parganah has three well-marked divisions of surface. To the north and east lies the fertile plain drained by the Rind, where the soil is of a reddish colour and highly cultivated, Mandauli and Gahlon being perhaps the richest villages of a rich tract. Here irrigation is easy and a well may be seen in almost every field. Next comes the central belt of loam or *dumat*, the basin of the Non river. Its fertility is diminished by the presence of barren *úsar* plains and (especially towards the west) of *dhák* forest. Last to be mentioned is the country skirting the ravine banks of the Sengur. Its soil is, like that of the Rind basin, red, but contains a greater admixture of sand and kunkur. The Etáwa branch of the Ganges canal flows from north-west to south-east through the parganah, giving out distributaries on either side. Of these the most important is the Ghátampur rájbaha, which has supplanted the badly aligned Tígáin channel, and is now a source of irrigation both in this parganah, and Ghátampur. The metalled road to Kálpi passes through the parganah and there is an encamping-ground beside this highway at Bára. Unmetalled roads connect Gajner on the east with Bára on the west and Bára, by way

¹ In the Cawnpore district these terms now coincide.

of Akbarpur, with Derápur. At Rúra there is a station of the East Indian Railway, which traverses the north of this parganah.

Akbarpur appears in older Government records as Akbarpur-Sháhpur, deriving the latter portion of this name from the ancient mahál of Sháhpur, in which the bulk of the existing parganah was once included. From Sháhpur on the Jumna, now a mere group of ruins, the headquarters of the mahál were transferred to Bhojpura on the Rind, and thence to Akbarpur. The modern parganah includes also another Akbari mahál, that of Bára. At the last settlement, to increase the compactness of boundary, eight villages were annexed from Ghátampur and two from Bithúr, whilst nine were transferred to Shiúli. The following statement compares the present and past areas :—

Total area.	UNASSESSED AREA.		ASSESSABLE AREA.						Total assessable area.
	Revenue-free.	Unculturable waste.	Groves.	Culturable waste.	Fallow.	Cultivated.			
						Wet.	Dry.	Total.	
Acres.	Acres.	Acres.	Acres.	Acres.	Acres.	Acres.	Acres.	Acres.	Acres.
Present 158,029	22	51,083	4,294	14,395	1,863	39,343	47,024	86,372	106,924
Past ... 157,627	3,984	58,108	...	12,875	5,218	47,311	30,131	77,442	951,535

The recent revision was effected by Mr. Wright and gives the assessable area as 67·7 per cent. of the whole, and the cultivated area as 81·0 per cent. of the cultivable. Of the cultivated acreage 45·8 per cent. is irrigated, chiefly from wells, masonry and earthen, but largely also from the canal. The proportions of irrigation from these and other sources may be thus displayed:—

From well.	From canal.	Other sources.
Acres.	Acres.	Acres.
29·2	12·7	8·9

The cultivated area has increased during the last 30 years by 11·5, and the recorded irrigation by 11·8 per cent.; but in the opinion of the settlement officer the real increase of irrigation has been greater.

¹ The figures given in this and the subsequent parganah notices of the Cawnpore district contain the latest result of the corrections made for the final settlement report. They accordingly differ from the figures already given in the district notice. In the statement at page 17, the column "total irrigation" includes assumed irrigation, i. e. irrigated and irrigable land, not actual irrigation only, whilst the latter alone is given in these parganah notices. The column "total cultivated area" in the same statement gives the only available total based on the classification of soils and suffices to show the distribution of those soils over the cultivated area. Similarly, the statement at page 30 shows roughly the distribution of the various crops, although the details have been superseded by the more accurate calculations now given. Groves at the settlement in 1840 appear to have been included under the head "unassessed area."

The revised assessment amounts to Rs. 2,22,675, excluding Rs. 22,268 Revenue demand for cesses and Rs. 11,135 for *patwáris*' fees. The former assessment amounted to Rs. 2,09,124. The incidence per acre of the new demand is on cultivated area Rs. 2-9-3, on culturable area Rs. 2-1-6, and on total area Re 1-6-7.

The incidence on the cultivated area of the former assessment was Rs. 2-6-10. As a basis for his rates of revenue, the settlement officer assumed the existence of rents on the following scale:—

Soils.	Gauhani		Manjha.		Barha.	
	Wet	Dry.	Wet	Dry.	Wet	Dry.
	Rs. a p	Rs. a p	Rs. a p	Rs. a p	Rs. a p	Rs. a p.
Rent-rate per acre ..	7 11 5	7 3 1	6 7 6	5 4 9	4 8 2	3 5 7

Few enhancements of rent followed the revision of revenue. The new demand is described as in no way severe, and as affording relief to many over-assessed estates.

During the currency of the expired settlement no properties were sold for arrears of revenue, although one was farmed by the Collector until such arrears were liquidated. Still, as a considerable proportion of the proprietors belong to the less thrifty classes (Rájputs, &c.), the number of writs (*dastáks*) issued was large. Transfers of landed property not caused by direct revenue process amounted to 74 per cent. of the cultivated area, and of such transfers 67 per cent. were permanent. Mr. Wright attributes these alienations not to severity of revenue, but chiefly to the improvident character of the proprietary body.

During the same period the price of landed property rose from Rs. 9-1-1 to Rs. 23-9-5 for private sales, and averaged in the 30 years a price of Rs. 12-9-7 per cultivated acre. At public sales the price rose from Rs. 5-12-5 to Rs. 18-2-11 per cultivated acre. The Chauhan Thákurs, though a united body, have lost much of their property through the inevitable tendency to borrow money from local bankers on mortgage of their shares. The titular head (Ráo) of this family has thus bequeathed the estate set apart as a support for the title, and has been reduced to a small holding of six land in the village where he resides. Of the estates of the paragon, 11 are

held on the zamindári tenure, 24 on the perfect pattidári, and 54 on the imperfect pattidári system. The last occupies a larger proportionate area than the other classes of tenure. Indeed, the subdivision of landed property in this parganah is minute, and while 16 villages are held by more than 50 proprietors, 22 only are the property of single individuals. The cultivating tenures are thus classified:

Land held by	Proportion.	Average area of holding in acres	Rate of rent per acre		
			Rs.	a.	p.
Proprietors as such ...	9 7	5 2			
Occupancy { Resident ...	54 8	4 1	4	7	1
• tenants. { Non-resident ...	10 1	3 2	3	9	0
Tenants-at-will... { Resident ...	12 6	3 2	4	15	0
{ Non-resident ...	4 6	3 1	3	15	0

At the time of measurement the autumn crop occupied 38·6 per cent. of the area. Joár was grown on 12,735 acres, cotton on 12,455, and bájra on 2,683 acres, the last chiefly along the banks of the Sengur. The spring crop covered 52,567 acres, wheat (6,398 acres) and bijlra (39,861 acres) being the principal crops. About 130 acres are sown with tobacco in Mandauli and Gahlon villages; while the extensive cultivation of poppy is perhaps due to the presence of a branch opium agency at Bára.

The traditional history of the parganah is not without some interest.

History. The common voice subjects the country in prehistoric times to the Meos. The chief of that tribe, Lahra Deo, had his stronghold in the ravines of Kumbhi on the Sengur, where an ancient *khera* or village mound still bears the name of Lahrapur. Another stronghold was in Kúkehi, and another in Bahaniapur. The Meos were ejected by four successive immigrations (1) of Gaur Thákurs, (2) of Bais Thákurs, (3) of Chauháns Thákurs, and (4) of Mughals. The Gaurs belong to the Rasūlabad family. The Baises immigrated about 1100 A.D., and defeating the Gaurs in Kasru khera, occupied 12 villages. The Chauháns are of the Mainpuri family. Led hither by a soldier of fortune. Kñemráj, they ejected the Meos and took possession of 36 villages. In much the same manner some 50 years later, a Mughal named Kutb Beg established himself at Bára. His descendants afterwards called Patháns, in consequence, it is said, of a title received from Shajáhud-din Glori (1206). They rose during the government

Nawáb Vazír to some importance, became farmers of the revenue, and obtained by doubtful means the possession of many villages. "Hence," says Mr. Wright, "the disgraceful state of affairs which led to the appointment of the special commission."¹

According to the census of 1872, parganah Akbarpur contained 204 inhabited villages, of which 59 had less than 200 inhabitants; 84 had between 200 and 500; 39 had between 500 and 1,000; 18 had between 1,000 and 2,000; 2 had between 2,000 and 3,000, and 2 had between 3,000 and 5,000. The principal townships or villages are Bára, Akbarpur, Rúra, and Gajner, the last place being noted chiefly for its large cattle fair held in Jeth (May-June). Several of the larger villages have markets twice a week. The total population in 1872 numbered 101,171 souls (45,789 females), giving 411 to the square mile. Classified according to religion, there were 94,817 Hindus, of whom 42,846 were females; 6,351 Musalmáns (2,942 females); and three Christians. Distributing the Hindu population amongst the four great classes, the census shows 14,589 Brahmáns, of whom 6,713 were females; 13,089 Rájputs, including 5,158 females; and 1,764 Baniyas (1,211 females); whilst the great mass of the population is included in the other castes of the census returns, which show a total of 64,375 souls (29,764 females). The principal Brahman subdivision found in this parganah is the Kanaujiya (14,503). The chief Rajput clans are the Chauhan (4,949), Gaur (1,745), and Chandel (1,548). The Baniyas belong chiefly to the Dhúsar (1,585) and Umar (581) subdivisions. The most numerous amongst the other castes are the Ahír (13,422), Chamár (11,605), Káchhi (5,608), and Gadariya (3,956). The Musalmáns are divided into Shaikhs (4,128) and Patháns (1,778).

The occupations of the people are shown in the statistics collected at the census of 1872. From these it appears that of the male adult population (not less than 15 years of age), 159 are employed in professional avocations, such as Government servants, priests, doctors, and the like; 3,535 in domestic service, as personal servants, water-carriers, barbers, sweepers, washermen, &c.; 380 in commerce, in buying, selling, keeping or lending money or goods, or the conveyance of men, animals or goods; 21,489 in agricultural operations; 4,710 in industrial occupations, arts, and mechanics, and the preparation of all classes of substances, vegetable, mineral, and animal. There were 6,195 persons returned as labourers, and 746 as of no specified occupation. Taking the total population, irrespective of age or sex, the same returns

¹ *Supra*, page 102.

give 3,162 as landholders, 54,384 as cultivators, and 43,625 as engaged in occupations unconnected with agriculture. The educational statistics, which are confessedly imperfect, show 2,172 males as able to read and write out of a total male population numbering 55,312 souls.

AKBARPUR BIRBAL, a village of parganah Ghátampur, stands on the banks of the Jumna, 31 miles from Cawnpore. Its population (837) is insignificant, but the place was formerly one of some importance. It was founded by Rāja Birbal, the Hindu Vazir of Akbar, and derives a portion of its name from both minister and emperor.¹ The village afterwards became the headquarters of a parganah formed from the older Shāhpur, and was ultimately included in the modern Ghátampur (1808). Traces of the old tabāli buildings can be just distinguished. There is an ancient temple sacred to Rādha Kriṣṇa; and the village celebrates with fairs the annual return of the Holi and Dīwālī festivals.

AMRODHA or Malikpur Ain, an old Musalmán town in parganah Bhognipur, stands on the road between Etāwa and Kālpī, 7 miles from the latter and 42 from Cawnpore. The population in 1872 numbered 2 983 souls. Once a town of some importance, Amrodha is now decaying; and its market, held twice weekly, has been transferred to Pokhrāen. The Chaukidāri Act (XX. of 1856) is in force here. The annual receipts from the house-tax thereby imposed are about Rs. 78, and the police establishment consists of four chaukidārs or watchmen.

ANKIN, a village in parganah Bilhaur on the Ganges, has a population of 1,692 souls, and is 41 miles distant from Cawnpore. It is remarkable only as containing an opium bungalow and store-house, the property of Government.

ASĀLATGANJ, a town in parganah Rasūlabad, is 38 miles distant from Cawnpore and has a population of 3,497 souls. A market is held here twice a week, and there is also a post-office.

BANIPÁRA MAHÁPAJ, a small town in parganah Rasūlabad, is 30 miles from Cawnpore and 5 from the railway station at Rūra. It had in 1872 a population of 2,132 persons. At the *Shiv-bart mela* or fair held here in March, and lasting for four or five days, all kinds of country goods are exposed for sale.

¹ Mahesh Dās was a needy minstrel (Bhāt) from Kālpī, in the neighbouring district of Jalaun. The wit and powers of versification which he showed during a visit to Akbar's court made his fortune. He was created, first Hindu poet laureate (*Kabī Rāi*), and afterwards *Rāja Birbal*. Often employed on diplomatic missions, he was as a commander less successful, and perished with most of his 2,000 men in an expedition against the Yūsufzāis. See Blochmann's *Atin-i-Akbari* (1873), Vol. I, 205, 404, and Sir H. Elliot's *History of India* (Dowson's Edn., 1873), Vol. V, 529, note.

BARA, a town in parganah Akbarpur, stands on the Kálpi road, 23 miles south-west of Cawnpore. It had in 1872 a population of 2,879 souls. Here an encamping-ground for troops adjoins a fine masonry tank built by Sítal Shukl, already mentioned as the builder of a similar reservoir at Akbarpur. There is also a police outpost. Bára is the parent village of the Pathán family in this parganah, and was in Akbar's time the head-quarters of a parganah named after itself.

BAREI GARHU, a small town in parganah Sarh Salempur, is two miles from Sarh and 18 miles from Cawnpore. It had in 1872 a population of about 2,701 souls, and is remarkable only for its large lake, on whose banks *pán* (*piper betel*) is cultivated.

BHAUPUR, in parganah Shiurápur, is the site of a station on the East Indian line and an Imperial post-office. It is 16 miles by road from Cawnpore, and had in 1872 a population of 231 inhabitants.

BHOGNIPUR, the head-quarters of the parganah and tahsíl so named, is a village on the Kálpi road, 41 miles from Cawnpore. The population in 1872 amounted to 1,113 persons. Here are a tahsíl, a first-class police-station, a dispensary, an imperial post-office, and an encamping-ground. The village is said to have been founded three hundred years ago by Bhogchand Káyath, whose descendants are still proprietors. To him also is ascribed a large tank known as Bhog Ságar, whose water is used for irrigation.

BHOGNIPUR, a parganah or tahsíl in the Cawnpore district, is bounded on the north by parganahs Akbarpur and Derapur; on the west by the latter parganah; on the south by the river Jumna, which separates it from the Jalaun and Hamírpur districts and the Báoni State; and on the east by parganah Ghátampur. According to the settlement records of 1873 the parganah contains an area of 180,041 acres, whereof 48,897 acres are unassessable, 21,988 acres culturable, and 109,156 acres cultivated. The river Sengur passes along a part of the northern boundary, but takes a sharp turn to the south at Malása, and discharges into the Jumna at Keotra near Músánagar. The presence of two large streams like the Sengur and Jumna affects the country in their vicinity greatly. Deep ravines edge the banks of both

Physical geography.

rivers, and near their confluence become rugged and wild in the extreme. Here, was once, if we may trust an old proverb,¹ the scene of many a forgotten and many a half-remembered fight; and here is now the haunt of the ravine-deer and the leopard. 'Away from the ravines

¹ "Dehli ki kamál, Chhaparghalañan sanwál," 'At Dehli gained, at Chaparghala lost;' referring to the defeat of Sultan Hussain of Jaunpur at the hands of Ibrahim Khan Lohani in 1468 A. D.

the soil is of the light loam known as *dumat*, which here contains a much larger admixture of sand than in the more northern parganahs. Towards the Jumna the proportion of sand becomes greater, and the soil, which is locally termed "parwa," is varied here and there with patches of a stiff clay called "*kābar*." In and near the ravines of the two rivers the soil is poor and much mixed with nodules of kunkur, except where the action of water has washed into lower levels the finer particles of fertile soil. The river Jumna is lined in places favourable for its deposit (such as back-waters) by a rich alluvial earth. This when of a more permanent character and above the level of any but the highest floods is called *kachhār*, while the more recent deposits and those subject to the most constant change are known as *kondar* or *tarāi*. The richest tract of *kachhār* is that where the waters of the Sengur are dammed up by the superior volume of the Jumna. In the bed of the river, when the stream is at its lowest, the thin layers of fertile soil left by the flood and called *nauleva* or *tir*, are lot by the *biswa* and cultivated in small patches with occasional irrigation from the adjacent stream. The *kābar* above mentioned is a soil of precarious value, which can be ploughed only after an opportune fall of rain in Kuār (September-October). Without such rain it becomes too hard for ploughing; but with too much rain, on the other hand, it becomes a sticky tenacious mass, equally incapable of tillage. *Kābar* and, in a less degree, *parwa* are most liable to become infested with the weed *lāns*. This noxious growth can be eradicated only by leaving the land fallow for several (and sometimes as many as fifteen) years. The east-Sengur portion of the parganah has the advantage of irrigation from the Akbarpur distributary of the Etāwa terminal of the Ganges canal. There the richest crops of wheat and cane are grown; but in the Sengur-Jumna doāb irrigation is almost absolutely wanting, the depth to water being nowhere less than sixty feet. Still, owing to the natural fertility of the soil and the presence of a large and industrious body of Kurmīs, the cultivation is of a high order; and when the proposed distributary penetrates this doāb, parganah Bhognipur should yield to none in the district for fertility and high cultivation. The drainage system is very indistinctly marked. The surface of the country is extremely level, and even shallow depressions are rare. In one central spot *ūsar* is found. The drainage of the locality in question gathers in a large swamp near Pokhrān, and thence forms a channel eastward to the Sengur. The Sonao, in this parganah, is a deep watercourse fringed by ravines.

Bhognipur is connected with Cawnpore by the installed Kālpī road, which has camping grounds at Dīg and Bhognipur in this parganah. The river Sengur is now bridged at Māwār; the former bridge was temporary, and removed during

the rains. The Mughal road crosses Bhognipur from east to west, spanning the Sengur on a fine bridge of five arches at Chaparghata.¹ The highway is here and there marked with kos pinārs, which served the double purpose of milestones and lamp-posts. Unmetalled roads connect Bhognipur with Derapur and Músānagar with Cawnpore (viz. Gajner).

Bhognipur has existed as a separate pargānah only since the cession (1801), and was formerly included in Akbarpur Shāhpur. The ancient capital of the latter, Shāhpur village, is now a mere group of ruined temples and tombs on the Jumna. The pargānah used at first to be known as Bhognipur Músānagar, but the second part of the name has been dropped. At cession it was chiefly in the hands of the Teonga Kāyath, Sarup Singh, who was stripped of his estates by the special commission. Compactness was secured at the settlement of 1840 by the interchange of villages between this pargānah and Ghātampur. During the present revision, one small village, Bahrai, has at the request of the proprietors been included in Deoli, pargānah Ghātampur. Bhognipur suffered much in 1834 by the entire failure of the cotton and a partial failure of the other crops. Government remitted revenue to the amount of Rs. 23,000, but the remedy was inadequate: recovery was slow, and when attacked by famine in 1837-38, the pargānah was unprepared to bear up against this fresh disaster. The drought was obstinate and its victims poor. Without water to grow grain, or money to buy it, the peasantry were early reduced to starvation, and died in hundreds before distress had become general elsewhere in the district. The settlement officer, Mr. Rose, determined largely to reduce the revenue, and remitted Rs. 35,533, while a later remission by Mr. Allen raised the total deduction to Rs. 38,703.

The revision of the settlement was effected in 1878 by Mr. Wright, who raised the revenue from Rs. 1,69,848 to Rs. 2,11,480, or by 11·3 per cent. The incidence of the demand per acre is now as follows :—

On total area.	On assessable area.	On cultivated area.
Rs. s. p. 1 2 10	Rs. s. p. 1 9 9	Rs. s. p. 1 1 11

¹ See foot-note, page 109.

² Both bridge and a solidly constructed sarāi which here stands beside the road are said to have been built by an officer of Aurangzib (1658-1707). The founder is buried beside his works, and his tomb is weekly honoured with flowers, sweetmeats, and other marks of respect.

The former assessment fell at Rs. 1-11-9 per cultivated acre. . As the pargana had greatly increased in prosperity since the settlement of 1840, little or no objection was raised to the revised demand. The following statement compares the past and present areas :—

	Total area.	UNASSESSED AREA.		ASSESSABLE AREA.						Total assessable area.
		Revenue-free.	Unculturable waste.	Groves.	Culturable waste.	Fallow.	Cultivated.			
							Wet.	Dry.	Total.	
	Acres.	Acres.	Acres.	Acres.	Acres.	Acres.	Acres.	Acres.	Acres.	Acres.
Present ...	180,041	57	48,840	2,748	12,188	7,052	10,063	99,093	109,156	131,144
Past ...	175,259	3,716	60,985	...	12,613	7,884	8,730	81,331	90,061	110,566

that is, the assessable area formed 72·7 and the cultivated 60·6 per cent. of the total area. Only 8·9 per cent. of the cultivated area was watered, and the following figures show that the canal is the chief source of what little irrigation exists :—

Percentage of cultivated area watered.

From wells.	From canals.	From other sources.
1·2	5·7	2·0

Transfers of landed property have been numerous during the last thirty years, and 68 per cent of the cultivated area has changed hands. The property thus alienated has mainly consisted of small shares belonging to thriftless classes. A remarkable rise has during the same period taken place in the value of land. The average price per acre has increased from Rs. 6-1-3 to 17-11-9 in private contracts, and from Rs. 5-14-2 to 24-2-0 in public sales ; while the highest price on record, Rs. 30-15-0 per acre, has been lately paid for shares in the once impoverished and almost valueless estates on the Jumna.

Tenures.

The following table shows the distribution of the various proprietary tenures :—

Total maháls.	Zamindari.			Perfect <i>patidari</i> .			Imperfect <i>patidari</i> .			Bhayachára.		
	No. of maháls.	Area.		No. of maháls.	Area.		No. of maháls.	Area.		No. of maháls.	Area.	
		Acres.	Rs.		Acres.	Rs.		Acres.	Rs.		Acres.	Rs.
264	183	66,094	1,26,560	90	8,473	16,690	59	32,871	64,680	2	1,716	3,650

Sixty-eight villages are held by single owners, of whom the principal are Súrj Parshád Tiwári of Old Cawnpore (34 villages) and Altáf Husain of Lucknow. Six villages are owned

History of the parganah as shown in that of its principal land-holding families.

by upwards of fifty sharers each. The earliest tradition in the history of this parganah is the immigration of

Rája Lahra. Believed in parganah Akbarpur to have been a Meo, he is here described as a Thákur from a village in the Gwáliár territory. His tribe overran the parganah, establishing strongholds in Mayapuri (Máwar), Loi (Sháhpur), Moi (Teonga), Umargarh (Músánagar), and Kurabhi. The chief was killed and his country taken by Malik Láulhan, an officer of Ala-ud-din Khilji (1295-1316). Hereon the government of this neighbourhood was entrusted to Thanak Singh, a Kayath from across the Ganges, whose father had been Diwán to Rája Lahra. The new governor received a grant of Teonga, and his descendant Kírat Singh was in the reign of Sháhjahán (1628-1658) appointed kánungo and chaudhari of the parganah. Remains of a castle which this Kírat built on his private domain of Akorhi are still visible. To the office of kánungo the family were not altogether new, for Bahlol Lodi (1450-1488) is said to have divided its duties and emoluments amongst their three branches. These were—(1) the house founded by Lahar Mal, which ejected the Gújars from Kándhi and settled therein; (2) that of Khartala, which afterwards removed to Sathra; and (3) the Teonga clan already mentioned. The main line of this last and most powerful branch came to an end in 1858, when its estates were confiscated for rebellion; but not before several of its offshoots had acquired separate properties in the parganah. Amongst other families of landed importance may be mentioned the Panwárs of Palander, whose Gilohi branch assumed the title of Rája 150 years ago, but is now attached

poverty; the Sisodhias of Ahrolighāt; and Kurmīs. The *soi-disant* Kachh-wāhas of the parganah are in reality Meos (see article on SIKANDRA). The tenures of cultivators are thus classified in the settlement records:—

Land held by		Proportion	Average area of holding in acres	Rate of rent per acre.
				Rs. a p.
Proprietors as	...	120	9.2	...
Occupancy tenants	Resident	509	5.2	3 7 4
	Non-resident	108	3.3	2 14 2
Tenants-at-will	Resident	149	4.2	3 11 1
	Non-resident	64	3.2	3 2 7

The kharif or autumn crop covered only 41 per cent. of the cultivated area. Its principal growths were jāar (20,541 acres, or 15 per cent. of the cultivated area), cotton (15,631, or 14 per cent.), and bījra (9,389, or 8, per cent.) The rabi or spring crop occupied 53 per cent of the cultivated area. It included but one per cent. of wheat against 32 per cent. (36,513 acres) of barley or barley mixed with other crops, and 17 per cent. (14,522 acres) of gram. Dotasli or both-harvest crops, consisting chiefly of rice, occupied only 2 per cent. of the area. The finest wheat is grown in the kachhār lands, and the proportion of kharif greatly exceeds that of rabi in the tract fringing the Jumna. The best tobacco is grown in Aunreri, where one field, named Gurdhār, is famous for its plant, and lets at the high rate (for this parganah) of Rs. 20 the acre. A common staple is *kusūm* or safflower, sown in rows amongst some other spring crop. It is often grown on advances, the money-lenders coming for their share of produce in June. Up to that time the cultivator can preserve it by pounding the petals with a little castor-oil. Cotton is the main staple of the parganah, and in favourable seasons this crop secures the revenue and supports the cultivator.

According to the census of 1872, parganah Bhognipur contained 231 inhabited villages, of which 56 had less than 200 inhabitants; 112 had between 200 and 500; 42 had between 500 and 1,000; 17 had between 1,000 and 2,000; and 4 had between 2,000 and 3,000. The principal towns are Pokhrāen, Musānagar (including Ghausganj and Azimganj), and Amrodha. Other large villages are Akorhi, Baror, Kaudhi, Muhanmadpur, Ol Aima or Satti, and Rajpur Todar. In the last three markets are held twice a week. Bhognipur itself is a mere village, chiefly inhabited by the tahsil officials. The total population in 1872 numbered 104,151 souls (48,710 females), giving 219

to the square mile. Classified according to religion, there were 94,404 Hindus, of whom 43,971 were females; 9,745 Musalmáns, amongst whom 4,739 were females; and two Christians. Distributing the Hindu population amongst the four great classes, the census shows 11,150 Brahmáns, of whom 5,161 were females; 5,960 Rájputs, including 2,439 females; and 3,833 Baniyás (1,796 females); whilst the great mass of the population is included in "the other castes" of the census returns, which show a total of 73,452 souls, of whom 34,575 are females. The principal Brahman subdivision found in this parganah is the Kanaujia (10,508). The chief Rájput clans are the Kachhwáha (1,395) and Ponvár (1,010). The Baniyás belong to the Dhúsar (485), Umar (378), Barwal (350), and Ajudhyabási (272) subdivisions. The most numerous amongst the other castes are the Chamár (14,364), Kurmi (13,201), Ahir (12,716), Gadariya (3,630), and Malláh 3,319. Káchhis are comparatively few (2,396). The Musalmáns are distributed into Shaikhs (6,347), Patháns (1,887), Sayyids (1,284), and Mughals.

The occupations of the people are shown in the statistics collected at the census of 1872, and from these it appears that of the male adult population (not less than 15 years of age) 165 are employed in professional avocations, such as Government servants, priests, doctors, and the like; 3,357 in domestic service, as personal servants, water carriers, barbers, sweepers, washermen, &c.; 708 in commerce, in buying, selling, keeping, or lending money or goods, or the conveyance of men, animals, or goods; 10,575 in agricultural operations; 5,022 in industrial occupations, arts and mechanics, and the preparation of all classes of substances, vegetable, mineral, and animal. There were 6,606 persons returned as labourers, and 899 as of no specified occupation. Taking the total population, irrespective of age or sex, the same returns give 3,982 as landholders, 53,765 as cultivators, and 46,404 as engaged in occupations unconnected with agriculture. The educational statistics, which are confessedly imperfect, show 2,965 males as able to read and write out of a total male population numbering 55,441 souls.

BIDENU, a village of parganah Jájman, is situated on the Hamírpur road, 11 miles south of Cawnpore. It contained in 1872 only 838 inhabitants, but is important as the site of an encamping-ground for troops, a second-class police-station, and an imperial post-office.

BILHAYA, the capital of the parganah so named, stands on the Grand Trunk Road, 34 miles north-west of Cawnpore. It had in 1872 a population of 5,954 inhabitants, of whom 3,731 were Hindus (1,724 females) and 2,223 were Muhammadans (1,091 females). The Musalmáns are described by Mr. Wright

as respectable, but somewhat quarrelsome. A short distance north of the town flows the river Isan. The public buildings are a tahsili, first-class police-station, imperial post-office, tahsili school, and road bungalow. The area of the town site is 307 acres, giving 19 souls to the acre. The Chauthidari Act (XX. of 1856) is in force here, and the annual receipts from the house-tax thereby imposed are about Rs. 880. The police establishment maintained out of this income consists of eleven chauthidars or watchmen.

BILHAUR, a parganah and tahsil in the Cawnpore district, is bounded on the north-west by parganahs Kanauj and Tirwa of the Farukhabad district; on the south-east by parganah Shikaripur of this district; on the south-west by parganah Rasulabad, and on the north-east and east by the river Ganges, which separates it from the Unao and Hardoi districts. It contains according to settlement records 119,694 acres, of which 32,977 are unassessable, 20,173 are culturable, and 66,544 are cultivated.

Two streams traverse the parganah. Through the north flows the Isan, which, until close to its junction with the Ganges, runs parallel with that river. The Pandu, on the other hand, flows near and parallel to the south-west boundary. The soil through which the Pandu passes is hard, consistent loam (dumat) with an almost level surface, out of which the bed of the river appears to have been cut with difficulty. The stratum traversed by the Isan consists, on the contrary, of light sandy soil, easily eroded by the action of water, or blown by the winds into undulating hillocks. The land again, which lies above the Ganges is hard and knobby, although gnawed into ravines by freshets seeking the river. The bulk of the parganah is occupied by the level plain of the Pandu, whose strata overlie those traversed by the Isan and Ganges. A considerable portion of the parganah is irrigated either from the numerous distributaries of the Ganges Canal (Cawnpore branch) or from wells. The Grand Trunk Road crosses the parganah from south-east to north-west, and has encamping-grounds at Pura and Arwal. Unmetalled roads connect the town of Bilhaur with Rasulabad and Makanpur.

In 1596, towards the close of Akbar's reign, the area of the modern Bilhaur was included in two parganahs, Bilhaur and Deoha.

History. Bilhaur was probably conterminous with the territory in possession of a large clan of Gaharwar Thakurs, whose chief still holds nine villages and the title of raja. The Isan-Ganges Doab was occupied partly by Malikis and partly by Ujena (Ujjayini) Thakurs, who afterwards received the name of Panwars. The north-west corner was always an unsettled part of the

country. It is near Kanauj, and the old Thākūr residents are said to have left it when the Rāthor dynasty was ejected from that principality by Shāhāb-ud-din (1194). They were succeeded by Maliks, Ujenas, and Panwars, who were at constant feud with one another. The town of Bilhar is indeed said to derive its name from a minstrel called Bilhar or Bilhaur who betrayed his Ujena master to the Maliks. The tract along the banks of the Isan, being sandy and barren, was in all probability the last to be taken into cultivation. It was occupied by neither Thākurs nor Maliks, but the Kurmis gradually pushed their way along it, assuming the position of proprietors and supplying the richer villages in the dūmat tracts with cultivators. The date of this immigration is uncertain.

The principal event of recent times has been the last completed settlement.

This was effected by Mr. Buck, who raised the revenue Settlement.¹ from Rs. 1,89,148 to Rs. 1,94,170 (or including cesses Rs. 2,13,587). Considerable relief was at the same time afforded to the poorer estates along the Ganges and Isan, "though it is doubtful," remarks Mr. Wright, "whether sufficient reduction was granted." The incidence of the revised revenue is as follows:—

On total area.			On culturable area.			On cultivated area.		
Rs.	s.	p.	R.	s.	p.	Rs.	s.	p.
1	10	2	2	3	10	2	14	9

The former demand fell at Rs. 2-13-6 per cultivated acre.

Distribution of area
and tenures.

The following statement compares the present and past
acres:—

	Total area.	UNASSESSED AREA.		ASSESSABLE AREA.							Total assessable area.
		Revenue-free.	Unculturable waste.	Groves	Culturable waste.	Fallow.	Cultivated.				
							Wet.	Dry.	Total.		
Acres.	Acres.	Acres.	Acres.	Acres.	Acres.	Acres.	Acres.	Acres.	Acres.	Acres.	
Present ...	119,694	99	32,878	6,741	10,305	5,127	39,658	26,896	66,554	86,717	
Past ...	126,216	4,976	32,598	...	19,356	6,770	38,986	23,520	62,506	68,642	

¹ See foot note, page 199.

The assessable area was therefore 73 per cent. of the whole, and the cultivated 77 per cent. of the cultivable. The irrigated area recorded in the *khasra* or field index was 58 7 per cent. of the cultivated area. In this parganah there are 163 *mahals* or estates, 2,372 proprietors, and 56,439 cultivators, proprietary tenures being thus distributed :—

Zamindars.			Perfect <i>pattidari</i> .			Imperfect <i>pattidari</i> and <i>bhayachara</i> .		
Number of mahals	Area.	Revenue.	Number of mahals	Area.	Revenue.	Number of mahals	Area.	Revenue.
	Acres.	Rs.		Acres.	Rs.		Acres.	Rs.
77	27,061	78,500	23	9,963	29,030	63	29,440	86,640

During the currency of the expired settlement 90·2 per cent. of the area has been transferred, leaving only 26 villages and 60 portions of villages (out of 158) in the hands of the original proprietors. The price per acre of cultivated land has risen from Rs. 9-9-6 to Rs. 9-2-11 in public, and from Rs. 10-5-8 to Rs. 62-11-5 in private sales. The average price during the thirty years was as follows :—

					Price per acre	Years' purchase of revenue.
					Rs. a. p.	
Private sale	...	...	...	...	27 8 4	9½
Public sale	...	...	...	...	9 14 6	3½
Mortgage	...	...	...	...	11 0 3	3¼

The tenures of cultivators are classified as follows :—

Land held by				Proprietors	Average holding of area in acres	Rate of rent per acre.
						Rs. a. p.
Proprietors as <i>sir</i>	...	...	...	9·9	8·1	...
Occupancy tenants.	Resident	...	...	53·8	4·1	5 4 11
	Non-resident	...	...	9·3	3·0	4 5 4
Tenants-at-will.	Resident	...	...	14·7	3·0	5 4 3
	Non-resident	...	...	4·9	2·3	4 3 0

The census of 1872 estimates the sum paid by tenants to their landlords as rent and cesses at Rs. 3,25,968. The rent-rates assumed by the settlement officer as a basis for fixing the demand were as follows:—

SOILS.					
Gauhan.		Manjha.		Barha.	
Wet.	Dry.	Wet.	Dry.	Wet.	Dry.
Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.
9 13 6	6 6 4	7 3 11	5 3 3	5 1 8	3 5 8

Mr. Buck deemed that in many cases these rates were ample, if not excessive. On the dúmat tract the enhanced demand and its attendant rise in rents press lightly, but the sandy unwatered lands find difficulty in obtaining tenants at the increased rate in vogue.

The *kharif* or autumn crops occupied at measurement 35,162 acres and the *rabi* or spring crops 37,311 acres. The principal autumn crops were cotton (3,775 acres), joár (9,354 acres), and hájra (4,513 acres); whilst among spring crops wheat occupied 7,462 acres, *bijhra* 26,921, cane 1,930, tobacco 95, and potatoes, whose cultivation is steadily extending, 214 acres.

According to the census of 1872 parganah Bilhaur contained 156 inhabited villages, of which 32 had less than 200 inhabitants; 52 had between 200 and 500; 46 had between 500 and 1,000; 20 had between 1,000 and 2,000; and 5 had between 2,000 and 3,000. The only town containing more than 5,000 inhabitants is Bilhaur itself. The total population in 1872 numbered 96,439 souls (46,462 females), giving 492 to the square mile. Classified according to religion, there were 88,173 Hindus, of whom 40,378 were females; and 8,266 Musalmáns, amongst whom 4,089 were females. Distributing the Hindu population amongst the four great classes, the census shows 14,674 Brahmanis, of whom 6,922 were females; 5,275 Rájputs, including 2,143 females; 1,681 Baniyás (744 females); whilst the great mass of the population is comprised in "the other castes" of the census returns, which show a total of 66,543 souls, of whom 30,564 are females. The principal Brahman subdivision found in this parganah is the Kanaujia (13,870). The chief Rájput clans are the Gaharwár (1,504), Gaur (519), Chandel (869), and Gahlot (182). The Baniyás belong

principally to the Umar (1,107) subdivision. The most numerous amongst the other castes are the Kurmi (12,340), Chamár (10,903), Ahír (8,390), and Gadariya (4,240).

The occupations of the people are shown in the statistics collected at the census of 1872. From these it appears that of the Occupations. . . male adult population (not less than fifteen years of age) 147 are employed in professional avocations, such as Government servants, priests, doctors, and the like; 2,059 in domestic service, as personal servants water-carriers, barbers, sweepers, washermen, &c.; 757 in commerce, in buying, selling, keeping or lending money or goods, or the conveyance of men, animals, or goods; 20,321 in agricultural operations; 5,241 in industrial occupations, arts and mechanics, and the preparation of all classes of substances, vegetable, mineral, and animal. There were 4,538 persons returned as labourers and 683 as of no-specified occupation. Taking the total population, irrespective of age or sex, the same returns give 4,175 as landholders, 47,713 as cultivators, and 44,551 as engaged in occupations unconnected with agriculture. The educational statistics, which are confessedly imperfect, show 2,353 males as able to read and write out of a total male population numbering 51,977 souls.

BINAUR is a large village in parganah Jajmau, 2 miles south-west of Sachendi and 14 from Cawnpore. It had in 1872 a population of 2,037 inhabitants, and was formerly the titular village of a Chandel Rája.

BĪPOSI NAJAFGARH, a town of parganah Sárh Salempur, stands beside the Ganges, 16 miles east of Cawnpore, with which it is connected throughout by a metalled road. The population amounted in 1872 to 2,459 souls. Bīposi was in 1707 granted by the Emperor Bahádúr Shah to his servant Nawáb Najaf Khán, and hence its second name. The grant, which was revenue-free, was resumed from Najaf Khán's descendants in 1829. The town is chiefly remarkable as the site of the indigo factory built by General Martin, to whom the estate had been leased by those descendants. He was a libe tenant, and is said to have enriched his leasehold with the 330 vats and 48 masonry wells still visible. The general's successor in this concern became heavily indebted, and his factory and gardens have passed by sale into the hands of a Háthras Baniya. Since then the manufacture of indigo has almost ceased, and the trade in indigo seed, for which Najafgarh was once celebrated, has declined. The market was built by Najaf Khán, and a pair of large gateways were added to the town by General Martin. The Chaukidári Act (XX. of 1856) is in force at Najafgarh, and the house-tax thereby imposed provides for an estab-

¹ See further rent-rate report on Sárh Salempur.

lishment of three *chaukidars* or watchmen. The town is surrounded by a fertile soil, for which high rent is paid by its *Kāchhi* cultivators.

BITHUR, now a town of *tahsil* *Jāmau*, and once the capital of the *paraganah* to which it gave its name, stands beside the Ganges, 12 miles north-west of Cawnpore. With the latter city it is connected by a metalled road, but the encroachments of the Ganges have of late years so sapped this highway that its maintenance in its present position is no longer possible. The population in 1872 numbered 7,768 souls. To the great bathing-fair held at the *Brahmavartta ghāt* in *Kārtik* (October-November), and to the tradition which connects that landing-place with *Brahma*, some allusion has been already made.¹ Another legend associates *Bithūr* with *Rāmchandra*, the incarnation of *Vishnu*. It is said that in a jungle to the south of the town dwelt *Vālmiki Mūni*, a hermit renowned for his sanctity and austerities. One day sobls were heard from the wilderness near his abode; and sallying forth, the saint discovered a pregnant lady whom he recognised as *Sīta* or *Jānki*, the wife of *Rāmchandra*. Her husband had put her aside under the belief that she had been ravished by *Rāwaua*, the giant king of Ceylon; and deserted by her friends, she had wandered hither. The kindly recluse gave her shelter, and before long she was delivered of twin sons, *Lo* and *Kus*. Under the fostering care of *Vālmiki* these boys grew to man's estate, instructed in all the lore of kingcraft. When their father *Rāmchandra* let loose the horse before performing the *asvamedha* sacrifice, they accepted the general challenge which that action proclaimed, and tied up the wandering steed. Being hereon attacked by the hosts of their father they were defeated and slain. But at this moment *Sīta*, weeping for her children, appears on the scene, and over the bodies of their fallen offspring a reconciliation takes place between the wife and her remorseful husband. To give the legend a yet happier conclusion the sons are restored to life by their mother, father, *Vālmiki*, or some other miraculous personage. It should be remarked that this account of the reconciliation between *Rāma* and *Sīta* differs from that given in the *Rāmáyana* by *Vālmiki* himself.² Numbers of metal arrow-points, the relics of the heroic struggle, are said to be found in the soil around *Bithūr*; and the neighbouring village of *Ramel*³ is said to derive its name from the battle (*ran*) and the reconciliation (*mel*). On a mound to the south of the town stands a temple raised during

¹ *Supra*, page 71.

² In the *Rāmáyana* *Lava* and *Kusa* defeat the armies sent out against them. Rama goes out to meet them in person, recognises them as his sons, and is reconciled without further bloodshed to *Sīta*. The hermitage of *Vālmiki* is placed at *Chitrakot* in *Bānda*, and no mention is made of *Bithūr*.

³ The famous *Amil* *Almās* *Ali* Khan granted *Ramel* free of revenue to his maternal uncle *Bhāgmal Jat*, and the village is still in possession of the latter's heirs.

the rule of the Marhattas to Vājṃiki, and near it a masonry building called Sita's kitchen and an old temple, named Kapaseshwar.¹ Bithur was selected as a residence by Bāji Rāo Peshwa on his surrender to Sir John Malcolm (1818). Settling here on a pension of eight lakhs, the deposed ruler was attended by a retinue of at first 16,000, and afterwards 5,000 men. For their support a tax-free portion of Bithur and Ramel, known thereafter as Arāzi Lashkar, was set aside. On the rebellion of the Peshwa's adopted son, the infamous Nāna Sāhjb, this little fief was confiscated and bestowed for life, at a merely nominal revenue, on Narāyan Rāo, a professing supporter of the British cause. The palace of the Nāna was destroyed in the course of the rebellion. At present the principal landholders of the neighbourhood are Khardha (Dūbe) Brahmans, whose chief bears a title (Chaudhārī) dating back to the middle of the 16th century. Bithūr consists of two quarters, Great and Little Bithūr. The combined town has four markets, one (Collectorganj) having been built when the civil and revenue courts were removed here in 1811, and another (Russellganj) in the following year by the judge, Mr. Claud Russell. In 1819 the inconvenient distance from cantonments caused the removal of the courts to Nawābganj.

Rāja Tikait Rāi, a minister or treasurer of Ghāzī-ud-din Haider, king of Oudh, is credited with having built a fine ghāt with an imposing arcade in the Saracenic style. On its upper platform is a Hindu temple. The clusters of ghāts, temples, and dwelling-houses on the Ganges bank lend an imposing and picturesque appearance to that side of the town. There are five well-known temples in Bithūr named after their founders—(1) Mahant Gobind Nawas, (2) Bhajanānand, (3) Gangāulās, (4) Gurdās, and (5) Jogaldas. Bithūr is full of Pandits, famous for their calligraphy in the Nāgari character. The town contains an imperial post-office and a first-class police-station. The Chaukidāri Act (XX. of 1856) is in force at Bithūr. The annual receipts from the house-tax thereby imposed are about Rs. 1,925, and out of this income is maintained a force of four constables and 18 watchmen.

CAWNPORE (KĀNPUR), the historic capital of the district so named, stands on the right bank of the Ganges in north latitude $26^{\circ} 28' 15''$, east longitude $80^{\circ} 23' 45''$, 120 miles from Allahabad. In 1847 there were 108,796 inhabitants, a number which had increased in 1853 to 118,000. In 1865 the population numbered 113,601 souls. In 1872 the city and its suburbs had an area of 6,079 acres, with a population of 20 to the acre.

¹ Perhaps a corruption of Kakapaksheshwara. Kakapaksha-dhara, or crow-winged, is a title given to Rāma and other warriors, from a certain mode of shaving the head, leaving the hair over the ears only, resembling wings, as is fancied.—Moore's *Hindu Pantheon*, article "Rāma."

According to the census of the same year there existed 122,770 inhabitants, of whom 90,582 were Hindús (39,863 females), Population. 31,894 were Músalmán (15,093 females), and 294 were Christians and others (157 females).¹ The number of houses during the same year was 33,391, and of these 15,918 were masonry structures as opposed to mud huts. Taking the male adult population, who numbered 49,425 souls (not less than fifteen years of age), we find the following occupations pursued by more than 40 persons: alms-takers 134; barbers 756; béggars 513; *bhúsa* straw-sellers 99; bird-trappers 117; blanket-sellers 79; blacksmiths 555; boatmen 151; braziers 202; bricklayers 146; brokers 414; butchers 471; carpenters 555; carpet-makers 41; confectioners 541; contractors 84; cotton-cleaners 104; cultivators 822; doctors 153; drummers 105; dyers 235; farriers 56; firework-makers 75; fishmongers 51; flour-dealers 1,064; fruit-sellers 128; goldsmiths 551; gold and silver lace sellers 102; grain-dealers 1,210; grain-parchers 342; green-grocers 545; grocers 355; hukka (pipe) makers 57; house proprietors 149; indigo-planters 59; inn-keepers 121; labourers 11,120; lacch-sellers 41; lac-workers and sellers 134; landowners 193; leather-sellers 163; looking-glass-makers 50; livery stable-keepers 878; lime-burners 331; mat-sellers 158; merchants 344; cloth-merchants 720; iron-merchants 65; milk and butter-sellers 446; money-changers 414; necklace-makers 77; oil-makers 420; painters and varnishers 83; *pán* (betel leaf) sellers 253; pedlars 163; petty dealers 143; perfumers 48; polishers of metal 124; potters 294; rope and string makers 173; servants 15,358; shoemakers and sellers 438; singers and musicians 104; stocking-knitters 1,059; stool-sellers 153; tailors 1,120; tinmen and tinkers 46; tobacco-sellers 284; washermen 532; weavers 1,030; weighmen 244; and wood-sellers 280.

The cantonments and civil station fringe the bank of the Ganges, the former being situated east of the latter. The river is here Site. about 500 yards broad, but when swollen by the periodical rains attains a width of above a mile. The native city stands a short distance south-west or inland from the civil station, which at one point almost separates from cantonments. It was built on no plan and is badly laid out, abounding in narrow streets and passages. Its lanes and byways long enjoyed the reputation of being the dirtiest of their kind, but of late years money and labour have effectively cleared it of this disgrace. Except on the undulating margin of the Ganges, or where indented by the ravines of that river's tributary watercourses, the sites of city, cantonments, and civil station are alike

¹ This estimate does not apparently include the British artillery and infantry in cantonments.

flat and unlovely.¹ The East Indian Railway is joined about a mile south of the city by the Oudh and Rohilkhand line. The principal station is on the East Indian, close by the junction; but the Oudh and Rohilkhand has a small station of its own nearer the city, and allows its passengers to start also from the Ganges railway bridge, where the train waits for a line-clear message. The proposed lines to Kálpi and Farukhabád will have their terminus near the Collectorganj market, and the East Indian Railway are now constructing a branch line to the same place, to which their goods-station will be transferred. The great railway bridge, which would form the most prominent feature in a bird's-eye view of Cawnpore, is remarkable as one of the only two existing viaducts across the undivided Ganges.² It was completed in 1875, after six years and about 20 lakhs of rupees had been spent in its construction. The length is 2,830 feet, the height above low-water mark 60 feet, and the material iron. Cawnpore has besides the two railroads several hardly less important approaches. Two metalled highways connect it with Hamírpur and Kálpi, while a third, the Grand Trunk Road from Calcutta to Dehli, crosses them on the south-western outskirts of the city. A metalled branch of the same road passes through cantonments, city, and civil station, stretching onwards towards Bithúr. And lastly a road, quitting the city and crossing the river by the railway bridge, bears the traveller towards Unáo and Lucknow. Between city and cantonments flows the Ganges canal, which discharges itself through a series of locks into its parent stream. It is bridged where crossed by the East Indian Railway and several other roads.

The relative position of the principal buildings and institutions is thus described by Mr. Tupp:—"Starting from the east or
Public buildings. Allahabad side, the race-course and brigade parade-ground is first reached. West of this are the native cavalry lines, north-east of which are the European infantry barracks, and between these and the river the memorial church, the Wheeler club, the artillery lines, and the various military offices. North of the parade-ground is the *sadr* (chief) bazár, and then the city, and between this and the river are the

¹ "With the exception of the Ganges," writes Miss Roberts, "which rolls its broad waves beside the British lines, nature has done little for Cawnpore; but the sandy plain, broken occasionally into ravines, which forms its site, has been so much embellished by the hand of man, that an unprejudiced person, not subjected to the miseries of field days, will not hesitate to say that it possesses much picturesque beauty." Miss Roberts was perhaps favourably prejudiced by the gaieties of Cawnpore, in her day a larger military station than at present. "The Cawnpore theatricals," she exclaims, "are really delightful." But those who would wish to learn something of British life at an Indian up-country station in the reign of William IV. cannot do better than turn to the first volume of her "Scenes and Characteristics of Hindoostan." The other is that at Rághat, which carries the same railway over from the Belandahar into the Budaun district.

memorial gardens and the famous well. West again of this are the district offices, Bank of Bengal, Christ Church, the theatre, &c., and on the bank of the river the jail and police lines. Three miles west of these are the model farm; Nawábganj, and Old Cawnpore,¹ which are separated from the present station by villages and cultivated land."² There are few buildings of any architectural pretensions, and none of any antiquity. The Jámi Masjid, or chief mosque, is a commonplace unadorned structure, but is being gradually improved by the few Mussalmáns in Cawnpore who can boast of any means. Prayág Naráyan's and Guru Parshád's new Hindu temples are the costliest buildings of their kind. Out of 357 mosques the most frequented are those of the Id at Colonélganj and Zaman Khán at Patkápúr. Of the 1,143 temples, the most popular are those of Tapeshwari Dévi, Káli Devi, Lakshmi Naráyan, and Mahádéo; but the temples of Siddhnáth and Bára Devi, in the suburbs of Jáfmau and Júhi respectively, can each claim a large number of citizen admirers. The houses of Diwán Násir Ali and Aga Mír's sons are the only dwellings of any importance. The former has tanks, fountains, and an audience-hall of some beauty, but all these are falling into slow decay from the increasing embarrassments of their owners. The *hotwáli*, or chief police-station, is an unpretending building centrally but obscurely situated. The Christians of Cawnpore

are in proportion to their numbers abundantly provided with places of worship. There are three Anglican churches.

The first, situated in the civil lines, and called Christ Church, was built in 1837, and in 1861 made over to the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel by whose missionaries its services are conducted. The second, St. John's, in cantonments, is a small plain building which was at first deserted for the third, or new Memorial Church. But the peculiar construction of the latter renders it so hot during May and June that the troops during those months again resort to St. John's. The Memorial Church demands more special mention. It was erected at a cost of about £18,000 on the site of Wheeler's entrenchment in cantonments, and serves as a monument to those who fell at or near Cawnpore during the disturbances of 1857-58. It is in the Lombardo-Gothic style of architecture, and is built of red brick faced with buff sandstone. Its roofs are groined and covered externally with corrugated iron. The floor of the nave and transept is paved with marble supplied by the Mahárája of Jodhpur, that of the chancel with Minton's tiles. The principal feature in the western façade is the rose-window over the entrance, while the windows at the

¹ Of which a description will be given in the next article. ² Imperial Gazetteer, article "Cawnpore City."

eastern end, which is apsidal, are enriched with stained glass memorials to the victims of the great rebellion. Other less striking records of bravery and death exist in the many tablets which line the walls. Attached to the building is a campanile 120 feet in height. Of the well memorial and its surrounding gardens some description has been already given.¹ The gardens cover nearly 50 acres and cost about £7,000, while the memorial raised round the well increased the outlay by another £4,000. The expense of construction was defrayed partly out of a fine levied on the city for misconduct during the rebellion, and for the maintenance of the gardens and memorial an annual grant of £500 is made by the Government of India. In the gardens south-east and south-west of the well are two graveyards with monuments to those who were massacred or died at Cawnpore during the mutiny. The whole area is irrigable from the canal, which accounts for the uniformly verdant appearance it presents in the midst of its arid environments. Besides the three churches already mentioned there are two Roman Catholic chapels and the Union Church. Turning from places of worship to those of amusement, we find a theatre, two racquet-courts, and a club.

The principal landing-place on the Ganges is that known as Sirseya
 Sirseya Ghât. Ghât, a noble flight of steps surmounted by a vaulted
 arcade of brick and stone. It is divided for bathing purposes into two portions—one used by men, and the other by women. In the latter portion an excellent arrangement securing the most complete privacy has been effected. The town owes this ghât, the fine market named Colletorganj, an extensive system of brick drains, a high school and boarding-house, and many minor works of public utility to Mr. W. S. Halsey, who, as magistrate of Cawnpore, for many years directed the municipal administration of the city.

The municipality of Cawnpore was established under Act VI. of 1868, but is now administered under the newer law of 1873
 Municipality. (Act XV.) Its affairs are managed by a committee consisting of six officials and twelve private persons elected biennially by the rate-payers. Of this body the magistrate of the district is *ex officio* president. The income is derived principally from a license tax on trades and from the rents of escheated land conferred on the municipality by Government. No octroi is levied as in other municipalities, lest that tax should degenerate into a transit duty, and damage the through trade of what is now the most flourishing emporium in the North-West. The chief objects of expenditure are police, pub-

¹ *Supra*, page 188.

lie works, conservancy, and extraordinary or miscellaneous charges. The following table exhibits the various items of income and outlay for five years in the present decade:—

Receipts and expenditure of Cawnpore municipality, 1871-76.

Receipts.	1871-72.	1872-73.	1873-74.	1874-75.	1875-76.	Expenditure.	1871-72.	1872-73.	1873-74.	1874-75.	1875-76.
	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.		Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.
Opening balance	82,119	11,490	4,169	1,018	7,972						
Tax on professions and trades	69,080	55,804	69,598	67,945	71,728	Collection ...	1,499	1,764	1,898	2,042	1,911
Tax on carriages, houses, &c.	564	868	831	779	700	Hand office ..	827	1,019	1,518	1,488	1,580
Nasut lands (sachests).	7,154	8,108	11,085	14,222	11,045	Public works ..	50,181	34,980	31,744	22,676	23,842
Shops and houses.	48	48	373	..	..	Police ...	20,730	20,061	20,687	18,874	19,841
Compound or sites tax.	7,429	9,327	8,763	6,140	5,408	Education ..	..	..	57	298	524
Fines ..	4,012	2,590	2,347	2,913	1,577	Charitable grants.	1,816	1,260	1,515	1,522	1,625
Founds	778	779	615	764	788	Conservancy ..	29,551	32,207	18,497	20,108	19,608
Sales of houses and lands	1,523	..	129	2,308	1,806	Road water ing.	1,332	1,434	1,485	1,508	2,527
Refunds and recoveries	2,465	521	..	1,650	2,387	Lighting ..	1,170	520	1,083	653	898
Miscellaneous.	17,192	14,731	18,921	9,899	1,901	Gardens ..	1,200	552	2,045	3,300	2,582
						Extraordinary ..	..	..	16,300	19,829	18,990
						Miscellaneous.	10,551	558	2,415	8,003	5,405
Total ...	1,93,223	1,00,216	1,11,811	1,01,937	1,07,113	Total	1,55,844	96,067	1,00,335	95,486	1,09,773

The income had at the close of the year 1876-77 fallen to Rs. 1,05,935, and the expenditure to Rs. 99,929; but the chief headings of receipt and outlay were the same as here shown. The municipality is saddled with the interest and re-payment of a loan borrowed from Government for the improvement of its drainage system. It pays under the heading of "gardens" advances to certain market-gardeners (*Káchhis*)* who were induced to migrate from Farukhabad and practise here the high cultivation of vegetables. "As is usual in all new settlements," observes Mr. Wright, "the settlers have to be supported for several years. But it is satisfactory to learn that they are paying off the original advances, and the large demand for garden produce, &c., will soon make them independent." Some account of the model farm will be given in describing the village of Jeora Nawábganj, in which it is situated.

The potable waters of Cawnpore were examined by Dr. Jameson in September and October, 1866, by Dr. Milne in April and

Potable waters.

May, 1867, and again by Dr. Compigné in October and November. I have taken the result of Dr. Milne's analysis in the table below for waters (1) to (7) and of Dr. Compigné's analysis for waters (8) to (10). The figures of the first column refer to the following waters:—(1) The well No. 15, lying between Nos. 1 and 2 barracks of the infantry lines; (2) the Ganges canal about 150 yards below the native city; (3) the well No. 19 in the cavalry lines; (4) the well No. 3 in the lines of the royal artillery; (5) well No. 7

between Nos. 9 and 10 barracks, infantry lines; (6) well No. 9 between Nos. 7 and 8 barracks, infantry lines; (7) the Ganges river about 150 yards below the native city; (8) the Ganges where used for drinking water; (9) water from the Ganges canal immediately above the city used by natives only for drinking purposes; and (10) well in cavalry lines at south end of and between the two lines of barracks. The results of the examination show that the physical properties of the water after passing through filter paper were unexceptionable, but that of the Ganges canal showed a dull whitish colour, without taste or smell, and did not entirely clear by filtration. The reaction was in all cases alkaline. Ammonia was detected present in all, and traces of phosphoric acid, of which an abundant precipitate was detected in the waters of the Ganges river. Some traces of nitrous acid occurred in Nos. 2, 3, 5, and 6, and in all silica and carbonate of soda was found. On the whole, Dr. Compigné thinks that the Cawnpore waters are as regards quantity quite sufficient, but as regards quality "the degree of permanent hardness is too high, the total solid and volatile matters are both high, as also the mineral matter and the chlorine also is in "some amount."

Number.	Degree of total hardness.	Degree of permanent hardness.	Grains of oxygen required to oxidise the readily oxidisable organic matter in 1,000 grains of water.	Solids in 70,000 grains of filtered water	Volatile matters.	Mineral matters.	Earthy salts, &c., insoluble in water	Lime as carbonate.	Soluble salts	Chloride of sodium.	Sulphate of soda.
1	8.0	5.6	.0006	20.4	3.80	19.11	11.55	6.65	5.08	0.78	2.80
2	4.35	2.86	.0003	6.8	0.72	7.35	5.67	3.71	1.6	1.20	1.28
3	10.3	7.	.00015	30.4	3.04	26.04	18.41	11.99	13.2	4.87	2.69
4	7.68	5.7	.00075	30.3	4.36	24.65	14.35	7.98	8.2	2.68	2.80
5	7.47	6.2	.00035	42.0	6.40	25.24	16.10	7.7	9.8	5.40	2.56
6	6.5	5.85	.00015	30.4	3.04	21.35	12.95	4.55	13.2	8.04	0.6
7	4.8	3.5	.0043	11.06	2.52	8.54	5.25	2.52	3.29	0.80	1.54
8	4.5	3.2	.0004	9.2	.51	8.69	7.4	...	1.20	.42	...
9	4.7	2.8	.00055	8.24	.7	7.56	5.07	2.6	2.5	1.5	...
10	12.9	8.6	.00045	29.0	3.5	25.5	16.8	10.8	8.7	4.2	2.5

In the vicissitudes which befell the towns of Northern India owing to Commerce and the construction of railways, Cawnpore was a considerable gainer. It became the emporium where the grain of Oudh, Bundelkhand, and Agra was collected for exportation by rail; and as such it has steadily increased its trade at the expense of Fatehgarh, Mirzāpur, and other losers. But besides the grain derived from surrounding districts, the town has other important exports of its own producing. Foremost amongst these are the leathern goods which may be regarded as the specialty of Cawnpore. There is a Government tannery here, and the leather trade, which has been increasing for many years, shows as yet no signs of decline. Next to this industry stands the manufacture of cotton stuffs, yarn, cloth, and tent-canvas. The town is remarkable for the only two large cotton mills worked by steam machinery which exist in Upper India. Of these the Elgin is the older, the Muir the younger mill; but some allusion has been made above to both.¹ The Banks of Bengal and Upper India have each a branch at Cawnpore, and thirteen English firms, companies, or their representatives are stationed in the town. There are several shops for the sale of the furniture, stores, and other articles in ordinary use amongst Europeans, but most of these are kept by natives. A couple of chemist's shops and a machine-ice manufactory deserve special mention as rarities found only in the largest stations. Ice is made here not only by machines, but is collected during the small hours of the winter mornings from shallow pans placed expressly for its preparation.

Two deliberative societies and several newspapers testify to the Social science and existence of some mental activity amongst the natives of Cawnpore. The Anjuman-i-Tahzib, or Society for the propagation of Enlightenment, is composed almost entirely of Musalmāns. It was founded in 1875 and holds weekly meetings, of which the proceedings are printed and circulated. Amongst its members are enrolled many influential Muhammadans of other districts: such, for instance, as the Prince Consort of Bhopāl. The objects kept in view by the Society are (1) education for all, but especially poor children; (2) burial of paupers and repair of mosques; (3) good works, such as almsgiving; (4) suppression of extravagance; (5) to encourage loyalty towards Government; and (6) to memorialize Government on whatever subject may seem necessary. The affairs of the Society are managed by a committee of four officers, of whom Muhammad Mihndi, Government *Vakil*, is President. Monthly subscriptions are paid,

albeit with some reluctance ; and vernacular newspapers are taken in for perusal of the members, being in most cases supplied *gratis* by the publishers.

The second Society is a branch of the Indian Association at Calcutta, and was established in January, 1877. It is open to all natives of India without distinction of race or caste, but appears to consist chiefly of Hindus, and particularly of Bengalis. The management is vested in a committee who meet monthly. Meetings for public discussion of current topics are called at the discretion of the committee. The object of the Society is the promotion of a healthy public opinion in all matters of importance, and to promote by every legitimate means the political, intellectual, and material advancement of the people.

The newspapers published at Cawnpore are the *Matla-i-Nur*, the *Shola-i-Tur*, and the *Nur-ul-Anwar*, the last being printed in Muhammadan, and the two first in Hindú presses. They contain generally a leading article on current affairs, a summary of news, and a few rather late telegrams. The following are the printing presses at work in Cawnpore :—

Name of proprietor	Name of press	Where situated.	Remarks
Messrs. Shircore & Co....	Exchange	Cantonments	Can print in Roman type only.
Mr X D Naronba ...	Aldona ...	Ditto ...	Ditto.
Nawal Kishor ...	Nawal Kishor's ...	Civil Lines ...	Vernacular.
Jamuna Prasad ...	Shola-i-Tur ...	Gill's Bazar ...	Ditto.
Bihari Lal ...	Matla-i-Nur ..	New Chawk ...	Ditto.
Abdur Rahmán Khán ...	Nizamí ...	Pathapur ...	Ditto.
Kripa Dyal ...	Zakaryar Nazayar ...	Generalganj ...	Ditto.
Abdul Aziz ...	Aziz ...	Gwalighi ...	Ditto.

Cawnpore is a military station, under the command of a colonel. The troops ordinarily stationed there consist of one European and one native regiment of infantry, a regiment of native cavalry, and a battery of royal artillery.

To the garrison Cawnpore owes its existence as a city. British troops were first stationed here in 1778, just a century ago ; and the protection thus afforded against plunder and oppression.

drew hither large numbers of traders from Oudh and other native kingdoms. The village rapidly became a town, which was in 1801 finally ceded to the British. Since then, except for a few weeks during the mutiny of 1857, the town has always remained in our possession. This mutiny was the one great event in the short history of Cawnpore, but it has made the name of that city universally familiar. It has been described above at considerable length, and need not therefore be further referred to here.

CAWNPORE (or KÁNHPUK) KUHNA, or Old Cawnpore, stands beside the Ganges in parganah Jájman, four miles north-west of its modern namesake. The town had in 1872 a population of 2,582 persons, almost entirely Hindus. Its origin is attributed to Hindu Singh Chandel, Rájá of Sachendi, who came hither to bathe on the festival of Kanhaiya Ashtami, or eighth day, of the dark half of Bhádon (August-September). Taking a fancy to the place, he cut down the forest then extending from Jájman to Bithúr, and built a town called after the lucky day of its foundation, Kánhpur.¹ The supervision of the works was entrusted to his vassal Ghanshyám Singh Chauhán, Rájá of Rameipur, who is said to have constructed a house, two gates, and some landing steps still in existence. Notwithstanding its name, Old Cawnpore is by some accounts credited with an existence of a century and a quarter only. A ditch running outside the town is ascribed to Prashád Rái Kurni, an *amil* or prefect of Marhatta times. The removal of the judicial and revenue courts from Bithur to Nawabganj in 1819 peopled Old Cawnpore with native advocates, pleaders, and other creatures of litigation; but since those courts were transferred to their present locality the town has declined. It has now but few wealthy inhabitants. Three or four modern temples and gháts testify to its recent prosperity.

CHAUDEPUR, a large village in parganah Shiurájpur, stands on the Grand Trunk Road sixteen miles north-west of Cawnpore, and had in 1872 a population of 2,366 inhabitants. Here are an encamping-ground for troops, a second-class police-station, and a district post-office. Twice a week is held a large market, where a brisk trade is carried on in indigo-seed, tobacco, and cattle. On the 9th June, 1857, Chaudépur became the scene of a mutiny and massacre already described in the history of the district.

DEOLA, a village in parganah Bilhaur, is four miles west of Bilhaur and 36 miles from Cawnpore. The population in 1872 numbered 2,022 souls. This village once gave its name to a parganah now amalgamated with that of Bilhaur.

¹ Kanhaiya or Kanh is one of the numerous titles of Krishna, the incarnation of Vishnu. Dr Robert Montgomery ascribes the foundation of the town to a chieftain bearing this name.

DERÁPUR, the chief town of the parganah and tahsíl to which it gives its name, stands on the right bank of the Sengur, 35 miles west of Cawnpore and eight south of the railway station at Rúra. With the latter communication is maintained by means of a good unmetalled road. The town contains 2,149 inhabitants, of whom a large number are Muhammadans, descendants of Kázis and others on whom grants of land were bestowed. Here are situated a tahsili, a first-class police station, a tahsili school, a dispensary, and an imperial post-office. Derápur contains the remains of many old mosques and a fine masonry tank called Sahas kund. It was once a place of considerable importance. In the time of the Marhatta rule (1756-1762) a fort was built here by Gobind Ráo Pandit, the governor of the province.

DERA MANGALPUR OR DERÁPUR, a parganah and tahsíl in the Cawnpore district, is bounded on the north by parganah Rasúl-
 Boundaries, area, &c. abad; on the east by parganahs Akbarpur and Bhognipur; on the south by the river Jumna, which separates it from the district of Jalaun; and on the west by parganahs Auraiya and Pháphund of the Etáwa district. It comprises according to the recent measurement 205,859 acres, of which 54,370 are unassessable, 29,527 culturable, and 121,962 cultivated.

The river Sengur, flowing from west to east, divides the parganah into
 Physical features two portions. Of these the northern is a fertile loamy plain watered by the Etáwa division of the Ganges canal and numerous wells. Towards the Sengur itself, however, this tract deteriorates, losing its fertility in rugged gulches and ravines. The southern portion of the parganah has a soil much resembling that of the northern, but its almost complete lack of irrigation prevents the former from competing with the latter. Here, between the Sengur and the Jumna, no water can be found at less than 60 feet from the surface; and what little irrigation exists is reserved for the benefit of garden produce. Eastward through the same tract flows during the rains the sluggish stream known as the Sunáo. The land between this depression and the Jumna is said to be the highest in the district. The banks of the Jumna are cut into deep ravines for a distance sometimes of two miles from the river. Here *chikítá* or ravine-deer may be seen in considerable numbers, and as the Etáwa border is approached black buck are not uncommon. Unmetalled roads connect Derápur with Mangalpur, Rasdhán, and Sikandra, where the *Pádeháhi saruk*, or old Mughal road, passes from Allahabad to Dehli. The East Indian Railway traverses the north of the parganah, with a station at Jhínjhak.

That pargana¹ as at present constituted comprises the old fiscal subdivisions of Derápur, Mangálpur, and Sikandra. Derápur Fiscal history derived its name from the fact that it was a favourite site for the imperial camp (*derá*). In the sixteenth century Akbar bestowed it, free of revenue, on Nawáb Amír-ul-Nasrat Chand Shaikh Nasrul Bahádur. Mangálpur consisted of 60 villages, which about the year 1755 were similarly bestowed on Mangal Khán; and its old name, Neora, was now changed for its present one. The two parganahs were amalgamated in 1809. Sikandra was a separate fiscal subdivision, whose history has been given in the article on the town so named. The revised settlement of the parganah was effected by Mr. Wright, who assessed the tracts north and south of the Sengur separately, their physical differences necessitating separate modes of treatment. His northern circle he named Derápur, his southern Sikandra. The records furnish us with the following details of the parganah area at the present settlement:--

	Total area.	UNASSESSED AREA.		ASSESSABLE AREA.							Total assessable area.
		Revenue-free.	Unculturable waste.	Groves.	Culturable waste.	Fallow.	Cultivated				
							Wet.	Dry.	Total.		
	Acres.	A	Acres.	Acres.	Acres.	Acres.	Acres.	Acres.	Acres.	Acres.	
Derápur ...	94,657	1	24,028	1,719	14,084	1,078	26,039	27,708	53,747	70,628	
Sikandra ...	111,202	20	30,321	1,417	8,192	2,937	3,485	64,730	68,215	80,861	
Present total,	205,859	21	54,349	3,136	22,276	4,015	29,524	92,438	121,962	151,489	
Past do. ...	203,807	4,145	72,010	...	14,255	7,562	22,836	75,093	105,829	127,652	

In Derápur 25·5 per cent. of the total acreage is unassessable and 73·5 per cent. culturable. Of the latter, again, 76·0 per cent. is cultivated, and of this 48·5 per cent. is irrigated. In Sikandra 27·3 per cent. is unassessable and 72·7 per cent. culturable. Of the culturable 84·0 per cent. is cultivated, and of the cultivated 5·0 per cent. is watered. In Derápur there has been considerable increase of irrigation, owing to the alignment throughout its whole length and breadth of canal distributaries. As a consequence, cultivation has, since the last settlement, extended 15·8 per cent. In Sikandra, on the contrary,

¹ See note to the similar heading in the article on pargana Jakbarpur, *supra*.

irrigation has apparently decreased. The following table compares the results of the new and old assessments :—

Tract or circle.	Old revenue	Present.		Total.
		Revised revenue.	Cogs.	
	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.
Derápur ...	1,21,548	1,39,670	13,967	1,53,637
Sikandra ...	1,32,692	1,38,645	13,864	1,52,509

And the incidence of the new assessment may be shown thus :—

Tract	On total area.	On culturable area.	On cultivated. area.
	Rs. a p.	Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.
Derápur ...	1 7 10	1 15 11	2 10 6
Sikandra ...	1 3 11	1 11 5	2 0 6
Total ...	1 5 10	1 13 8	2 5 6

The former demand fell at Rs. 2-4-2 per cultivated acre in Derápur and at Rs. 1-15-1 in Sikandra. Transfers of land have during the last thirty years been fewer in Derápur than in any other parganah of the district except Jájmau. Their absence is ascribed to the prosperity caused by an increased cultivation of sugar-cane and indigo; and this again is attributed to the introduction of canal water. In Sikandra 83 per cent. of the area has changed hands, 69 per cent. permanently. The extensive alienations were perhaps due to the exactions of the former Proprietary body and changes therein. *jugirdár*, Narindargir, which are said to have left the village landholders involved in debt. "On the incubus being removed landed property, hitherto valueless, had a price and was sold up by the creditors." The turbulent Meo proprietors on the banks of the Jumna have maintained their position more steadily than the industrious Kurmís, who made better tenants than landlords. During the currency of the expired settlement 7½ estates were sold and nine farmed for arrears of revenue, but all these cases save one

occurred in the first decade of that period. The proprietary tenures are thus distributed :—

Portion of parganah.	Total number of maháls.	Zamindárl.			Perfect pattidárl.			Imperfect pattidárl.			Bhayachárl.		
		No of maháls.		Revenue.	No of maháls.		Revenue.	No of maháls.		Revenue.	No of maháls.		Revenue.
		Acres.	Rs.		Acres.	Rs.		Acres.	Rs.		Acres.	Rs.	
1. Derápur ...	66	96	28,179	78,940	14	3,340	8,320	56	22,228	57,410			
2. Sikandra ...	227	129	34,810	69,281	24	7,980	16,833	70	24,381	50,531	4	1,058	2,000

The principal proprietors in Derápur are Gaur Thákurs, and the estates acquired by Diwán Násir Ali have been mortgaged to the rising Khánpur family of that tribe. In the eastern portion of this tract may be found a good many Bráhmaṇ owners who have acquired land either as the priestly grantees of devout Gauras, or as purchasers enriched by recent money lending. For some account of Sikandra proprietors see SIKANDRA. Cultivatory tenures may be thus classified :—

Land held by			Derápur.			Sikandra.		
			Proportion	Average area holding	Rate	Proportion.	Average area holding	Rate
Proprietors as sár ...			13.1	7.1	Rs. a p. ...	17.3	6.2	Rs. a. p. ...
Occupancy tenants ...	Resident	...	54.3	4.3	4 6 2	41.7	5.2	3 11 4
	Non-resident	...	8.4	3.0	3 11 5	9.9	3.2	2 13 11
Tenants-at will ...	Resident	...	11.9	3.1	4 13 3	15.5	4.2	3 14 1
	Non-resident	...	3.7	2.3	4 5 11	7.1	2.7	2 3 10

Rent.

The rent-rates assumed by the settlement officer for purposes of assessment were as follows:—

Tract.	Gauham		Manjha.		Barha.	
	Wet	Dry.	Wet.	Dry.	Wet.	Dry.
	Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.
Derápur ...	8 8 3	7 2 3	6 6 1	5 6 6	4 10 9	3 10 5
Sikandra ...	7 8 9	5 10 7	6 0 0	4 14 10	5 0 0	4 11 10

In Derápur the kharíf occupies 39·4 per cent. of the cultivated area, and the principal crops are, cotton (7,729 acres), joár (10,175), and indigo (569). The rabi is sown over 30,333 acres, including 2,912 of wheat and 20,503 of *bijhra*. In Sikandra the kharíf is 45·3 per cent. of the cultivated area, and the principal crops are joár (1,361 acres), bája (4,940), and cotton (10,470). With the rabi is sown 51·3 per cent, which includes 664 acres of wheat and 21,092 of barley. The difference in the agriculture, and perhaps the soil, of the two tracts is clearly shown by the respective proportions of the crops grown in each:—

	Cotton	Joár.	Bája	Indigo.	Wheat.	Bijhra.
Derápur ..	7,729	10,175	1,405	569	2,912	20,503
Sikandra ...	10,470	13,761	4,940	17	664	21,092

According to the census of 1872, parganah Derápur contained 287 villages, of which 91 had less than 200 inhabitants; 123 between 200 and 500; 53 between 500 and 1,000; 16 between 1,000 and 2,000; 3 between 2,000 and 3,000, and one between 3,000 and 5,000. The principal villages in the united parganah are Derápur, Mangápur, Khamola, Sithmara, Sikandra, Rasdhán, and Khwája Phúl. At these places markets are held twice a week, and that of Sithmara is famous for its cattle trade. In the others local produce is sold to local consumers.

The total population numbered 123,558 souls (56,609 females), giving 379 to the square mile. Classified according to religion, there were 117,109 Hindús, of whom 53,536 were females; 6,445 Musalmáns (3,073 females); and 4 Christians. Distributing the Hindu population amongst the four great classes, the census shows 17,176 Bráhmans, of whom 8,035 were females; 12,851 Kájpúts, including 5,201 females; 3,318 Baniyás (1,551 females); whilst the great mass of the population is comprised in "the other castes" of the census returns, which show a total of 83,764 souls (38,748 females). The principal Bráhman

subdivision found in this parganah is the Kanaujiya (16,906). The chief Rājput clans are the Gaur (5,231), Kachhwāha (1,322), and Chauhān (1,163). The Baniyās belong chiefly to the Purwāl (656), Ajudhiābāsi (578), Umar (514), and Dhūsar (207) subdivisions. The most numerous amongs the other castes are the Chamār (14,647), Ahir (11,232), Kurmi (9,454), Gaḍariya (6,608), Kāchhi (6,239), and Lodha (3,928). The Muhammadāns are chiefly Shaikh (4,381) and Pāthāns (1,608).

The occupations of the people are shown in the statistics collected at the census of 1872. From these it appears that of the male adult population (not less than fifteen years of age), 102 are employed in professional avocations, such as Government servants, priests, doctors, and the like; 3,614 in domestic service, as personal servants, water-carriers, barbers, sweepers, washermen, &c.; 1,177 in commerce, in buying, selling, keeping or lending money or goods, or the conveyance of men, animals, or goods; 26,599 in agricultural operations; 5,212 in industrial occupations, arts and mechanics, and the preparation of all classes of substances, vegetable, mineral, and animal. There were 7,000 persons returned as labourers and 826 as of no specified occupation. Taking the total population, irrespective of age or sex, the same returns give 8,337 as landholders, 64,481 as cultivators, and 50,740 as engaged in occupations unconnected with agriculture. The educational statistics, which are confessedly imperfect, show 2,520 males as able to read and write out of a total male population numbering 66,949 souls.

DUNDWA JAMOLI, a large village in parganah Bilhaur, is distant five miles from Bilhaur and 28 from Cawnpore. It contained in 1872 a population of 2,674 inhabitants, but is not otherwise remarkable.

GAJNER, a small town in parganah Akbarpur, lies 25 miles north of Hamirpur and 24 miles south-west of Cawnpore. The population in 1872 amounted to 3,530 persons. Gajner is remarkable chiefly for its large cattle fair held in the month of Jeth (May-June). It has a second-class police station and imperial post-office. Act XX. of 1856 (the Chaukidāri Act) is in force here, and the house-tax thereby imposed gives with miscellaneous receipts an annual income of about Rs. 720. Out of this sum an establishment of 13 watchmen is maintained.

GHĀTAMPUR, the capital of the parganah or tahsīl so named, stands on the Hamirpur road, 26 miles from Cawnpore, and had in 1872 a population of 3,350 souls. The site includes those of Hāfīzpur and Sāhāri villages, and markets are held twice weekly. The principal building is the Gosāin temple built 300 years ago by Balbhādrīr Gosāin, which raises its pinnacles amidst

mango groves to the south of the town and forms a picturesque object in the landscape. There is, besides, a very old temple dedicated to Kudha Devi. The public buildings are the tahsili, a first-class police-station, a dispensary, a school, and imperial post-office. There is also an encamping-ground for troops. The town was formerly a stronghold of the Bais clan, and is supposed to derive its name from their chieftain Ghátam Deo, who expelled the Ahirs some 900 years ago. The leader of the vanquished race, Buldani Ahir, was renowned for wealth, and his halls sheltered more than 900 menials. He lived at Koron, and the site of his castle Balári Bhera is still pointed out. So at least writes Sir Robert Montgomery, but local testimony collected by Mr. Wright does not confirm the statement.

GHATAMPUR, the southernmost parganah of the Cawnpore district, is bounded on the north by parganahs Jájmau and Akbarpur; on the west by parganah Bhognipur and the Jumna, which separates it from the Hamírpur district; on the south-west by the same river, which still forms the boundary with Hamírpur; on the east by parganah Kora of the Fatehpur district, and on the north-east by parganah Sárh Salempur. The settlement measurements show an area of 219,409 acres, of which 39,787 are unassessable, 40,138 culturable, and 39,484 cultivated. The parganah may be roughly divided into two portions. The northern is a tract of fertile loam, while the southern is occupied by the soils peculiar to the neighbourhood of the Jumna, and assimilating to those of Bundelkhand. Such are *parwa*, *kábar*, *ráhar*, and

Physical features. *már*. The two first named have been described in the article on Bhognipur parganah, and the third in the notice on the Hamírpur district.¹ The *már* is a black soil which when dry cakes into hard granulated lumps, and when wet becomes sticky and tenacious. If free from the weed *káns*, it is most fertile, being especially favourable to the growth of wheat; and it is seldom, therefore, let for less than Rs. 4 per acre. The rent paid for *kábar* in this parganah varies from Re. 1-8 to Rs. 4 the acre, for *parwa* from Re. 1-8 to Rs. 3-8, and for *ráhar* from 12 annas to Re. 1-12. But when irrigated (as it rarely is) *parwa* will fetch as much as Rs. 5 the acre. The *dúmat* or loamy soils of the northern tract pay rates similar to those of other parganahs. Ghátampur is bisected by the river Non, which, entering on the Akbarpur frontier, forms approximately the boundary between the two tracts just described. Towards the eastern border of the parganah and district, the erosion and denudation, caused by drainage seeking this stream greatly impoverishes the adjacent soil. Wild and bare ravines take the place of the low alluvial *terái* which

¹ Gazetteer, I, 141.

fringes the river higher in its course. The metalled road to Hamírpur passes through the parganah, and there is an encamping-ground beside this highway at Ghátampur. The Non river is now bridged, and, except during the rains, a bridge-of-boats across the Jumna connects the districts of Hamírpur and Cawnpore. The Mughal road from Jahnabad enters the parganah at Kunwákhera and passes Ghátampur in its direction westwards. Other unmetalled roads connect Ghátampur with Akbarpur and Sárh and Baripal with Músánagar. The Etáwah branch of the Ganges canal flows through the west side of the parganah and was originally intended to discharge into the Jumna at Garántha, continuity of navigation being secured by a series of locks similar to those at the tail of the Cawnpore branch. A large amount of material was collected for the purpose, but it was eventually decided not to dig the last two miles, and the surplus water is now discharged into a ravine at Baksara. The Ghátampur rájbaha or channel, which is included in the original lower Ganges canal scheme, penetrates the *duáb* formed by the two heads of the Non river and carries water to tracts hitherto entirely dry. It was once intended to prolong this distributary towards Kora of Fatehpur. The western portion of the parganah is irrigated from the Reona rájbaha and distributaries of the Akbarpur rájbaha. The principal *jhíl* or lake is that of Jahángírabad, which formerly collected the drainage of a considerable area towards the west; the Ghátampur rájbaha has now blocked much of this reservoir, which is never so full as it was. In winter it is much frequented by snipe and duck. A large shallow depression on the west of the parganah is bisected by the canal, into which it is allowed to drain.

Canals.

Ghátampur as at present constituted represents the old parganahs of Ghátampur and Akbarpur Bírhar or Bírbal. To these, for the sake of compactness, villages from Sárh, Kora, and Bhognipur have been added. Mention is made in the village histories of parganahs Shukr-pur Prás and Kanota, but they are not recognised in any way now. From the fraudulent dealings of native officials, already mentioned in this notice,¹ Ghátampur suffered much. Ahmad Bakhsh, whom Mr. Collector Welland had appointed *názir*, succeeded in obtaining for his nephew Zukikár Ali the post of *tahsildár*. But both power and emoluments remained in the hands of the uncle, who made good use of his opportunities. Through the instrumentality of five creatures of his own he acquired landed property paying a revenue to Government of Rs. 56,826 per annum. These agents were employed

Fiscal history.

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¹ *Supra*, page 102.

either as amins to attach estates, as farmers when the proprietors were to be excluded from management, as purchasers when estates were put up for auction, or as sureties for each other when required. The estates purchased by them were without an exception transferred to Ahmad Bakhsh. As in other parganahs, remissions on account of the drought of 1804 never reached the village landowners. Their estates were brought to sale on account of balances said to be outstanding, and purchased for Ahmad Bakhsh. The tahsildari records were destroyed, and the few accounts forthcoming in the Collector's office were designedly rendered so contradictory as to be perfectly unintelligible. The special commission restored all the estates purchased for Ahmad Bakhsh. The revenue at date of cession (1801) was Rs. 3,53,455, and at the settlement of 1840, Rs. 3,02,108, a further reduction of Rs. 5,486 was made by Mr. Allen.

At the opening of the recent settlement operations the demand in force was Rs. 2,91,127, but this was reduced by the settlement officer, The current settlement.¹ Mr. Wright, to Rs. 2,92,150. The incidence per acre of the new assessment was on total area Re. 1-5-3, on assessable area Re. 1-10-1, and on cultivated area Re. 1-15-11. That of the former demand was Rs. 2-0-2 per acre. The richest and most highly assessed portion of the parganah is the group of villages transferred from Kora. The most highly taxed estates are those on the banks of the Jumna, where defects of soil and surface prevented too exacting a demand. The present and past areas of the parganah may be thus compared :

Total area.		UNASSESSED AREA.		ASSESSABLE AREA							Total assessable area.
		Revenue-free.	Unculturable waste	Groves.	Culturable waste	Fallow.	Cultivated.				
							Wet.	Dry.	Total.		
	Acres.	Acres.	Acres.	Acres.	Acres.	Acres.	Acres.	Acres.	Acres.	Acres.	
Present	... 219,409	217	39,570	5,601	20,669	19,868	36,585	12,899	139,484	179,623	
Past	... 215,538	6,827	55,825	...	14,906	10,628	50,910	76,942	139,852	153,369	

According, therefore, to the later measurements the proportion of assessable to unassessable land was as 81·8 to 18·2, and of the former no less than

¹ See note, page 199.

82.0 per cent. was cultivated. Groves occupy but 2.6 per cent. of the area.

Irrigation. Of the cultivation, 10.4 per cent. is irrigated by wells, 10.8 per cent. by ganal, and 3.8 per cent. from other sources.

The northern division of the parganah is sufficiently watered, though on the east wells are crumbling and require to be lined with a simple brick casing. The southern division is entirely unirrigated, water not being found under 60 feet from the surface. Nor is the Non and Jumna dūb, whose physical characteristics forbid the alignment of irrigating channels, ever likely to be watered by the canal.

Landholders and their tenures.

The proprietary tenures are thus distributed :—

	Total number of mahals on estates.	Zamindari.		Half pattidari		Imperfect pattidari.		Bhauachari		Muafi or revenue-free.	
		Number of mahals.	Area. Acres.	Number of mahals.	Area. Acres.	Number of mahals.	Area. Acres.	Number of mahals.	Area. Acres.	Number of mahals.	Area. Acres.
Ghátampur.	275	171	75,820	31	22,397	62	41,630	7	6,597	1	178

The history of the one revenue-free estate is as follows :—Three hundred years ago, Balbhadrgir Gosáin, a monastic of Etáwa migrated to Ghátampur, and began building there a temple. Penniless though he was, he miraculously extracted the necessary sums from a tank near the site of his shrine. A mason was killed by a fall from the scaffolding, and the holy founder restored him to life. Moved by these wonders, the prefect (*ámil*) assigned Balbhadra a cash annuity of Rs. 150, and some land, which was formed into a separate village under the name of Naráyanpur. The British Government maintained the *muafi* tenure till the fourth settlement, when, in consequence of a lapse in succession, the estate was resumed and Rs. 200 per annum allotted for the repairs of the temple. But on the representation of a claimant, the estate was afterwards restored and the money allowance withdrawn. The *bhayaachára* estates have been already described in this notice.¹ Only 31 villages were owned by single owners, 103 by from 5 to 16, and 9 by over 50 each. The principal proprietary castes are the Jaganbansis noticed above;² the Panwárs, whose decadence is painfully apparent; the Bais of Patára and Ghátampur; and the Kurmis of Baripál. Káyaths, the hereditary kanúngos of the parganah, hold a few villages.

¹ *Supra*, page 123.

² Page 47.

During the currency of the expired settlement the price of landed property rose less than in other parganahs, advancing in private sales from Rs. 6-8 to Rs. 13-14-2 only. The average price during the thirty years may be fixed

at Rs. 8-1-11. In the same interval 64·5 per cent. of the cultivated area (representing 59 per cent. of the estates or shares in the estates) was transferred, 57 per cent. permanently. Small proprietors have been the chief losers, but a large portion of the property transferred has passed into the hands of their clan brethren or resident agricultural proprietors. Few estates have fallen into the possession of Cawnpore bankers; but the Bráhmán Prayág Naráyan Tiwari may be mentioned as the principal purchaser of this class. Since last settlement three estates have been farmed and two sold for arrears. One property thus sold (Katra Makrandpur) eventually found its way into the hands of an American cotton farmer. He attempted to improve the cultivation of the plant, ploughing with horses and even camels; but the result was a disastrous failure, and the original proprietors have now regained possession of the estate. Mr. Wright thinks that at the settlement of 1840 Ghátampur as a whole was not severely assessed. Alienations were undoubtedly numerous during the currency of that settlement, but not so numerous as in the more highly-taxed parganahs. The condition of the land-owning class is fairly prosperous, and they are "not more indebted than may be attributed to the customs of the country."

Cultivators and The tenures of the cultivating body are thus classified by their tenures. —

Land held by	Proportion	Average area of holding in acres	Rent-rate per acre.
			Rs. s. p.
Proprietors as str ...	8·9	14·0	...
Occupancy tenants { Resident ...	49·3	8·0	3 9 11
{ Non-resident ...	9·3	6·1	2 11 10
Tenants-at-will ... { Resident ...	13·8	5·1	3 10 5
{ Non resident ...	5·0	3·3	2 4 5

The rent-rates assumed by the settlement officer as a basis for his rates of revenue were as follows:—

SOILS.					
Gauhá.		Manjha.		Barha.	
Wet.	Dry.	Wet.	Dry.	Wet.	Dry.
Rs. s. p.	Rs. s. p.	Rs. s. p.	Rs. s. p.	Rs. s. p.	Rs. s. p.
7 4 6	5 10 10	6 4 6	4 13 5	4 10 0	3 10 5

The *khariḥ* or autumn crop occupied 43·9 per cent. of the cultivated area, and consisted of joār (31,890 acres, or 21·4 per cent.), cotton (19,129 acres, or 13 per cent.), and *bīḡra*, grown principally along the banks of the Jumna (8,241 acres). Indigo is rarely grown, but the cultivation of *caṇḡ* has been stimulated by the access of canal water. The *raḡi* or spring crop covered 50·6 per cent. of the cultivated area, and comprised wheat (2,564 acres, or 1·8 per cent. of the cultivated area), barley and crops mixed therewith (40,827 acres, or 27 per cent.), and gram (17,306 acres, or 11·6 per cent.) *Al* (*Morinda tinctoria*) is grown in the *mār* soil, but 137 acres only are devoted to this dye.

According to the census of 1872, parganah Ghátampur contained 230 inhabited villages, of which 48 had less than 200 inhabitants; 94 between 200 and 500; 59 between 500 and 1,000; 22 between 1,000 and 2,000; four between 2,000 and 3,000, and three between 3,000 and 5,000. The principal villages are Ghátampur, Baripál, Bhadrás, Daulatpur, Tilsanda, and Pandi Naurangpur. At all these places markets are held twice a week, that of Baripál being celebrated for its cotton trade. Other large villages are Prás, Patára, and Itarra. The total population in 1872 numbered 123,800 (58,867 females), giving 368 to the square mile. Classified according to religion there were 118,465 Hindús, of whom 56,312 were females and 5,335 Musalmáns, of whom 2,555 were females. Distributing the Hindu population amongst the four great classes, the census shows 19,834 Bráhmans, of whom 9,576 were females; 8,160 Rájputs, including 3,438 females; and 3,641 Baniyás (1,670 females); whilst the great mass of the population is comprised in "the other castes" of the census returns, which show a total of 86,830 souls (41,628 females). The principal Bráhman subdivision found in this parganah is the Kanaujiya (18,632). The chief Rájput clans are the Chandel (1,111), Bais (775), Panwér (771), Gautam (506), Gaur (500), Kachhwáha (449), Sengar (364), Chauhán (350), Parihar (299), Janwár, Dikshit, Karchúliya, Banáphar, Sarwar, and Sonak. The Baniyás belong chiefly to the Dhúsar (1,736) and Umar (1,543) subdivisions. The most numerous amongst the other castes are the Chamár (17,589), Kúrmí (13,086), Ahír (11,007), Káchhi (5,642), Koli (5,235), and Gadariya (4,116). The Musalmáns are either distributed amongst Shaikhs (4,407), Patháns (791), and Sayyids, or unspecified. A body of Muhammadans known as Nau-Muajims are said to have been devoted to Islám by an ancestor, Ghátam Deo Bais. While praying for a son at the shrine of Málár Sháh, this worthy vowed that, if his prayer were granted, half his descendants should be brought

up as Muslims. The religion of the Jhameya Kurmis is more nearly related to the Muhammadan than the Hindu. They derive their title from the saint of their forefathers, Shaikh Jāma, whose full name was Makhdūm Jāhāna Jāhāngasht. Their creed is said to be five centuries old. A few of their customs illustrate very clearly their Muslim proclivities. Thus, until 70 years ago they buried instead of burning their dead; certain masjids are attributed to them; they refuse food cooked even by such Hindus as are Brāhmins, and they marry entirely amongst themselves. There is a shrine in Maswānpur, parganah Jājmaū, where one of their notables is worshipped, more, they say, with Musalmān than Hindu rites. Like the Sikandra Meos, they are curiously reticent about their origin and peculiar customs.

The occupations of the people are shown in the statistics collected at the census of 1872. From these it appears that of the male
 Occupations adult population (not less than 15 years of age), 144 are employed in professional avocations, such as Government servants, priests, doctors, and the like; 3,394 in domestic service, as personal servants, water-carriers, barbers, sweepers, washermen, &c.; 713 in commerce, in buying, selling, keeping or lending money or goods, or the conveyance of men, animals, or goods; 25,483 in agricultural operations; 4,649 in industrial occupations, arts and mechanics, and the preparation of all classes of substances, vegetable, mineral, and animal. There were 8,837 persons returned as labourers and 832 as of no specified occupation. Taking the total population, irrespective of age or sex, the same returns give 4,283 as land-owners, 65,419 as cultivators, and 54,098 as engaged in occupations unconnected with agriculture. The educational statistics, which are confessedly imperfect, show 3,012 males as able to read and write out of a total male population numbering 64,933 souls.

GOTEHA, a small village three miles west of Cawnpore, is notable only as the site of an orphanage belonging to the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel. This was removed from the Sawāda (Salvador) kothi at Cawnpore on account of the great distance which then intervened between that house and the civil station; but the migration of the Government offices to the neighbourhood of cantonments soon after the mutiny again left the orphanage three miles distant from the nearest dwelling-house. The institution was founded in 1835 for the reception of orphans from the famine-stricken districts of Bundelkhand. At first girls only were received, being trained for domestic service. In 1846 the present site was leased from the proprietors for ninety years at a total rent of Rs. 295; buildings were then erected

at a cost of Rs. 26,000, and the place named Asrápur or Hope-town. A church was added in 1849-50. Boys left orphan by the disastrous famine of 1838-39 were admitted into the establishment, which thenceforward sheltered children of both sexes. The boys were taught trades, such as carpentering, printing, &c. In 1857, the missionaries in charge of the orphanage were murdered, and the building itself became later in the same year an important position in the battle between Havelock and the Nāma of Bithúr. As a consequence, the whole of the buildings were gutted. They were restored after the pacification of the district, and in the grounds will be found monuments to several officers who perished in the course of Havelock's march on Cawnpore. During the famine of 1861 orphans were received from Morádabad, Dehli, and Cawnpore. In 1875 there were 102 foundlings in the establishment, but the boys have been lately removed to Rúrki, where the Government workshops will supply them with a valuable training-school.¹ The village had in 1872 a population of 1,378 persons.

JÁJMAU, a decaying village which bestows its name on the parganah so called, lies four miles east of Cawnpore city, and had in 1872 a population of 2,778 inhabitants, chiefly Hindús. It was anciently styled Siddhpuri, and can still show, on the banks of the Ganges, a landing-place and temples dedicated to Siddheshwar and Siddha Devi. The high mound overhanging the river is known as the fort of Rájá Jiját Chandrabans, whom the Chundels claim as their ancestor. The extent of this stronghold is said to have been such that while its eastern gate was at Biposi, and west at old Cawnpore, its northern opened into the Pali village of Unáo district, and its southern into Burhpur Macheria of parganah Jájmau. Disgusted at the failure of a sacrifice on which he had built hopes, Jiját gave the fort and its appanage of 17 villages to a sweeper, but a memorial of his name is supposed to remain in the word Jájmau.² To the south of the fort rises the tomb of Makhdúm Sháh, built about 600 years ago; and on the castle mound itself stands a mosque reared in the seventeenth century by Sultán Masih-ud-dín. The residents of this and the surrounding villages celebrate the *holi* festival five days after the usual date. They say that many ages back, on the *holi* and four following days, a fierce fight was raging between the Muhammadans and the Hindu Rájá; and in honour of the victory then gained, the Hindús have ever since kept this their great holiday on the same date as they were forced to keep in that year.

¹ For farther particulars the reader is referred to a pamphlet by the Revd. D. H. Dunne, the clergyman in charge of the orphanage.

² The termination *mau*, meaning village,

is especially common in this district.

JAJMAU OR CAWNPORE, the parganah and tahsil which contains the capital of the Cawnpore district, is bounded on the north-east by the river Ganges, which separates it from the District of Unáo; on the north-west and west respectively by parganahs Shiurájpur and Akbarpur; on the south-west by parganah Ghátampur, and on the south-east by parganah Sárh Salampur. It contained, according to the records of the recent settlement, 168,993 acres, of which 48,299 were unassessable, 28,956 culturable, and 91,738 cultivated. The most prominent feature in the physical geography of the parganah is its rivers. The Rind forms its southern boundary and the Pándu flows through the centre. The characteristic soils are identical with those of Shiurájpur, and will be described in the

Physical geography. article on that parganah. The Ganges canal Cawnpore terminal enters Jajmau at Kursoli, and by a bold curve commencing at the crossing of the East Indian Railway, discharges through a series of locks at right angles into the Ganges. Stretching north-westwards towards Cawnpore, the East Indian Railway has a fine station about a mile south of that city, and after effecting a junction with the Oudh and Rohilkhand line, proceeds in a direct westerly direction towards Delhi. The most remarkable portion of the parganah is the *kachhár* tract extending from the village of Ramel and the Non river¹ on the north-west to the village of Khoora, near Nawábganj. The high land or *bángar* which limits the valley of the Ganges curves inland in an arc between these two points, containing with the river a segment about six miles broad at its widest part. On this *kachhár* segment no irrigation is required, and fine crops of every description are raised. Tuberous plants alone are watered by *dhenkli* or lever wells. The tract is, however, liable to inundations from the overflow of the Non river, and in some places of the Ganges. By the villagers the Non is accused of impoverishing the soil with brackish water,² but what really prevents the more extensive cultivation of the land is the frequency of inundation and the high spring level. These causes lead in some years to such an excessive saturation of the land as to prevent its preparation for the *rabi* or spring crop. The fields, too, on the banks of the Ganges are frequently carried away by the action of the stream. Many estates have severely suffered from these causes during the last few years, and much land once cultivated is now overrun with grass and inhabited by the wild boar.

¹ Not to be confused with the namesake which flows through the south east of the district.
² The word non means salt, but vide *sup.*, page 12

The parganah as it now exists is made up of the old parganahs of Jajman, Bithur, Maswānpur, and Majhāwan (Montgomery adds Sachendi). Numerous transfers of villages between this parganah and Sārā Sāiempur were effected at last settlement. Bithur was divided between Jajman and Shiurājpur in 1861. The settlement was commenced by Mr Buck, but completed by Mr. Evans, assistant settlement officer. The present and past areas may be thus compared :—

	Total area	UNASSESSED AREA.		ASSESSABLE AREA							Total assessable area.
		Revenue-free	Unculturable waste	Grove.	Culturable waste.	Fallow	Cultivated.				
							Wet.	Dry.	Total.		
	Acres	Acres	Acres	Acres	Acres	Acres	Acres	Acres	Acres	Acres	
Present	168,933	164	48,135	8,765	14,879	5,313	45,690	16,108	91,738	120,694	
Past	171,264	6,512	60,108	...	3,791	5,880	67,570	27,403	94,973	104,614	

According, therefore, to the later measurements the proportion of assessed to unassessable was as 71·5 to 28·5, and of the former area 76 per cent. was cultivated. Of the cultivated area, again, 49·4 per cent is irrigated, mostly, as will be seen from the following table, by wells, masonry and earthen :—

Irrigated from

Wells.	Canals.	Other sources.
35 8	10 2	3 4

Owing to the erroneous classification then adopted, irrigation has nominally decreased 22·2 per cent since the opening of the past settlement (1810); but a comparison of the irrigation recorded in field-indices at the time of both settlements shows an increase of 11·0 per cent. Cultivation, too, has decreased, giving way in the neighbourhood of large towns to newly-planted orchards and groves. But the principal cause of the decrease was the fraud of Rāwat Rāndhīr Singh, who, to hoodwink the settlement officials, threw a great portion

See note, page 199.

of his lands out of cultivation. By this quite useless stratagem he deprived himself for five years of rents annually amounting to Rs. 5,000. Under the management of the court of wards the land is now being rapidly reclaimed to cultivation.

Mr. Evans considered the parganah excessively assessed, and allowed a reduction of Rs. 19,923, or 7·4 per cent. Thus, the new demand amounted to Rs. 2,48,843 only, or with cesses (Rs. 24,884) and *patwari's* fees (Rs. 13,710) to Rs. 2,87,437. Owing, however, to its fertility, its command of irrigation, and the presence in its midst of a great market, the parganah is in a highly prosperous condition; and Mr. Wright doubts whether so large a reduction in its land revenue was actually needed. The incidence per acre of the new assessment was as follows :—

On total area.	On cultivable area.	On uncultivated area.
Rs. a p. 1 8 11	Rs. a p. 2 2 11	Rs. a p. 2 13 11

The former demand fell at Rs. 3-2-10 on the cultivated area.

Proprietary tenures
and families.

Proprietary tenures are thus distributed:—

Total.			Zamindari.			Perfect pattidari.			Imperfect pattidari.		
Number of mahals.	Area.	Revenue.	Number of mahals.	Area.	Revenue.	Number of mahals.	Area.	Revenue.	Number of mahals.	Area.	Revenue.
Acres.	Rs.		Acres.	Rs.		Acres.	Rs.		Acres.	Rs.	
336	281	70,488	2,01,211	20	5,887	19,187	35	15,394	42,940

Of the *zamindari* villages, the majority are held either by single owners or very small bodies of co-sharers; while even in *pattidari* villages the number of co-sharers is generally under 25. In no village does the proprietary body exceed one hundred in number. As a necessary consequence, the average area held by each individual proprietor is seldom very small. The largest estate is that of the Ráwátpur Chandel family, consisting of 22 entire villages with shares in three others. Second to it is that of Safdar Husain, who holds six villages obtained by purchase. A third estate consists of five villages.

No others are of any great extent. Rāwat Randhīr Singh of Rāwatpur died recently, and his son survived him but a few days. Their widows have adopted an heir to the estate, which is now under the court of wards. This estate pays a revenue of Rs. 22,142, and is being highly improved by the construction of wells and arboriculture. The Kākūdeo branch of the Rāwatpur family fasten their coats, after the fashion of Muslims, on the left side. The privilege is said to have been granted by the emperor Ahmad Shāh (1748-1754), who was pleased with the manner in which their ancestor Kansrū, shot a crocodile. Seated at Sapili in this parganah is another Chandel family, whose head bears the title of Rāo. The history of this latter clan has been given above, and it is only necessary here to say that the subdivision of property under British rule has reduced the present bearer of the title (a lunatic) to the possession of an eighth share in one village (Gangroli).

Alienations in Jājmau, as compared with other parganahs, have been few, and but 59 per cent. of the total area, or 34 per cent. of the existing properties, has been transferred. If, moreover, we take only such as has been *irrevocably* alienated by its owners, the percentage of the total area is reduced to 52. A large proportion of the land was transferred more than once, showing that local and special cause affected the alienations. The large demand for landed property near Cawnpore has always of course kept the price of that limited commodity somewhat high. Natives of the money-lending, legal, and official classes vie to run up the bidding for any estate auctioned in Jājmau. During the past thirty years the average price of the cultivated acre has risen from Rs. 15-3-3 to Rs. 22-11-4 in private sales. The price at public auction, beginning with Rs. 8-8-8, doubled itself during the term of the expired settlement. Mr.

Evans seems to have somewhat over-rated the amount of transfers. The tenures on which the land is cultivated are thus classified :—

Land tilled by				Proportion	Average area of holding.	Rent per acre.
						Rs. a. p.
Proprietors as <i>sir</i> ...	...	...	...	9.2	7.8	...
Occupancy tenants,	Resident	...	...	50.0	4.0	4 13 5
	Non-resident	...	...	11.0	3.0	4 2 9
Tenants-at-will ...	Resident	...	...	16.2	3.7	5 5 10
	Non-resident	...	...	6.6	2.5	4 10 2

Rent of cultivators. The rent-rates assumed by Mr. Evans for various classes of soil were as follows:—

RENT PER ACRE PAID FOR					
Gauhan.		Marjha.		Barha.	
Wet.	Dry.	Wet.	Dry.	Wet.	Dry.
Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.
10 1 7	6 4 4	7 2 10	5 0 5	5 6 8	3 9 8

Mr. Wright remarks that these rates, though constantly paid and even exceeded, are "full standard," and himself gives the following list of rents actually paid on the 27 estates of the *kachhár* tract:—

Land under	Per acre.
	Rs. a. p.
Sugarcane	5 10 10
Wheat and spring crops	5 6 9
Bájra, joar, and rain crops	5 8 11½
Kachhāna or vegetable land	2 15 10

The autumn crop covered, according to the settlement measurement, 45·1 per cent. of the cultivated area, the principal growths being *joár* (20,518 acres) cotton (7,920 acres), and indigo (2,843 acres). The spring crop occupied 55·8 per cent. of the area, comprising 7,968 acres of wheat and 30,319 of *bájhra*. Tobacco is grown in Khirsa, and poppy in small plots all over the parganah.

According to the census of 1872, parganah Jájmau contained 230 inhabited villages, of which 73 had less than 200 inhabitants; 68 had between 200 and 500; 44 had between 500 and 1,000; 29 had between 1,000 and 2,000; and 15 had between 2,000 and 3,000. The only town, except Cawnpore, containing more than 5,000 inhabitants is Bithúr. Markets are held twice a week at the principal villages, Sachendi, Majhāwan, Ráwatpur, Maswānpur, and Kathāra. The fair at Bithúr has been already noticed. The total population in 1872, including city and cantonments, numbered 266,670 souls (122,949 females), giving 1,010 to the square mile. Classified according to religion, there were 227,500 Hindus, of whom 104,389 were females; 38,741 Musalmáns, amongst whom 18,323 were females; and 429 Christians. Distributing the Hindu population amongst the four great

classes, the census shows 34,274 Brāhman, of whom 15,807 were females; 13,495 Rājputs, including 5,445 females; and 16,493 Baniyās (7,437 females); whilst the great mass of the population is included in "the other castes" of the census returns, which show a total of 163,238 souls (75,760 females). The principal Brāhman subdivision found in this parganah is the Kanaujiya (31,121), while other clans, such as the Gaur, Sanādh, Sārsūt, Jijotia, and Mahārāshtrā or Dakhini, have a few representatives. The chief Rājput clans are the Chandel (4,390), Bais (1,477), and Gautam (1,207). The Baniyās belong chiefly to the Dhūsar (5,724) and Umar (2,796) subdivisions. The most numerous amongst the other castes are the Ahir (18,480), Kāchhi (9,329), Toli (6,847), Lodha (16,551), Chamār (21,423), Gadariya (6,675), and Mullāh (4,383). The Musalmāns are distributed amongst Shaikhs (28,338), Pāthāns (6,915), and other smaller tribes.

The occupations of the people are shown in the statistics collected at the census of 1872. From these it appears that of the male adult population (not less than fifteen years of age), 738 are employed in professional avocations, such as Government servants, priests, doctors, and the like; 23,839 in domestic service, as personal servants, water-carriers, barbers, sweepers, washermen, &c.; 5,338 in commerce, in buying, selling, keeping or lending money or goods, or in the conveyance of men, animals, or goods; 23,104 in agricultural operations; and 22,955 in industrial occupations, arts, mechanics, and the preparation of all classes of substances, vegetable, mineral, or animal. There were 22,035 persons returned as labourers and 3,017 as of no specified occupation. Taking the total population, irrespective of age or sex, the same returns give 3,236 as landholders, 60,014 as cultivators, and 203,420 as engaged in occupations unconnected with agriculture. The educational statistics, which are confessedly imperfect, show 11,203 males as able to read and write out of a total male population numbering 143,723 souls.

JHINJHAK, a village in parganah Derapur, is 38 miles from Cawnpore, and had in 1872 a population of 608 inhabitants. It contains a station on the East Indian Railway, which here crosses the unmetalled road from Sikandra and Mangalpur to Rasūlabad. A market is held in the village twice a week.

JUHI, a village in parganah Jājmau, stands on the Grand Trunk Road, 1½ mile south-east of Cawnpore, of which it may be called a suburb. The population in 1872 numbered 4,063 persons.

JEORA NAWABGANJ, a village of parganah Jájman, stands on the Bithúr road, four miles north-west of Cawnpore, and had in 1872 a population of 3,677 souls. Here are a second-class police-station, a dispensary, and an imperial post-office; and here, before the mutiny, was situated part of the old civil station. The place is now remarkable chiefly as the site of the Government model farm. The space included in that farm amounts at present to 164 acres only, but it is proposed to increase the area by adding thereto the land of the adjacent missionary orphanage. Situated as it is in the neighbourhood of the canal, the farm is plentifully irrigated; and having absorbed several of the old gardens of the civil station, it possesses a fair stock of well-matured fruit-trees. It serves the triple purpose of a fruit garden, a nursery for the distribution of trees and plants, and an experimental farm. Some account of the latest results obtained in each of these three directions may prove interesting. It was found in 1876-77 that of fruits the most profitable, beyond all comparison, were grapes, jack-fruit, strawberries, and mangoes. These yielded respectively a net profit of Rs. 430, Rs. 395, Rs. 362, and Rs. 172 per acre. Most of the grapes and a considerable portion of the strawberries were bought by natives, who are not too conservative to relish good exotic fruits. In the nursery during the same year were cultivated flowers and even forest trees; but it is proposed to remove the flower-garden to Lucknow, and to devote the resources of the nursery solely to the growth and distribution of the timber bearers. From experiments on the farm it was endeavoured to obtain precise statistics on (1) the results of English as compared with native ploughing, and (2) the results of canal irrigation. Deep ploughing with English ploughs was found less expensive, and in eight cases out of ten more productive than scratching with the native implement; though at the same time the cost of the ploughs is more than the ordinary cultivator can meet. It should, also, be mentioned that the wheat and barley crops sown after preparing the soil in the former manner were failures. The fact is ascribed to heavy rains after Christmas; but English ploughs have little hope of success in India until the husbandman can be shown that the two great crops of his spring harvest will not suffer from their adoption. Ploughs of two patterns are distributed by the farm to court of wards' estates. The result of irrigation experiments were to prove the superiority of well over canal water. The same field was watered for two consecutive years—one-third by canal and one-third by well, the remaining third being left dry. At the end of the

second year (1876-77) the outturn of barley cropped from each was as follows:—

From land watered by well	...	...	...	1,642 lbs.
Ditto ditto canal	...	...	...	1,386 "
Ditto left dry	...	...	...	1,260 "

Several crops, such as tobacco, sorgho, Carolina paddy, and cotton, were experimentally grown on the farm, with the result in some cases of failure, and in none of very marked success. A more profitable venture was the introduction of a new portable sugar-mill (Milne and Thomson's), which proved its superiority over the native *kolhu* by turning out double the quantity of juice at half the cost of its rival. From a financial point of view the model farm is not remunerative. The expenditure of 1876-77 (Rs. 6,450) exceeded the income (Rs. 5,265) by Rs. 1,185. The value of stock, including buildings, was estimated during the same year at Rs. 9,812.

KÁKUPUR, a large village in parganah Shiurájpur, is situated three miles east of Shiurájpur town and 22 from Cawnpore. The population amounted in 1872 to 3,128 souls. Here, twice a week, is held a large market, to which grain, cotton, clarified butter, molasses, &c., are brought from considerable distances. Goods from Oudh destined for sale in this mart cross the Ganges by Saraiya and Rádhan gháts. The market-place is itself known by the name of Debíganj. General Cunningham identifies Kákupur with the capital, visited by Hwen Tshang in the seventh century, of the *M-yu-to*, Ayodhya, or Oudh country. He moreover suspects it to be the same as the *Bágud* or *Vágud* of Tibetan Buddhist lore.¹

KAKWAN, a village in parganah Bilhaur, stands beside the Ganges canal, 32 miles north-east of Cawnpore. It had in 1872 a population of about 2,081 inhabitants, and is remarkable only as containing a second-class police-station.

KÁSHIPUR, a small town in parganah Shiurájpur, is situated on the Hind, six miles south-west of Shiúli and 26 miles from Cawnpore. The population numbered by the last census 4,662 souls. Here, in 1868, a Hindu widow devoted herself to death on her husband's pyre. The case acquired for Káshipur a brief notoriety.

KATHÁRA, a large village in parganah Jájmau, stands 14 miles south-west of Cawnpore, and had in 1872 a population of 3,571 persons.

KUBIÁN, a large village in parganah Ghátampur, is situated 28 miles from Cawnpore. It had in 1872 a population of 3,037 persons, but is not otherwise remarkable.

¹ *Archæological Survey Report*, I, 293, 296. General Cunningham never visited Kákupur himself, but heard from the people of Kanauj that it was "once a large city with a Rája of his own."

KHWÁJA PHÚL, a village of parganah Derápur, stands on the old Mughal road, 48 miles from Cawnpore, in the extreme south-western corner of the district. It had in 1872 a population of 1,568 inhabitants. It is remarkable for the remains of a strong fort said to have been built in the reign of Shahjahan (1628-1658) by one Itimád Khán, as a protection against the numerous robbers who then infested the neighbourhood of the Jumna. From the fact that he is called *Khwája Sarái Sháhi* it would appear that the founder was one of the royal eunuchs. He had been sent by the emperor's daughter, Phúl, to buy elephants. Hearing of her anger at his daring to build a fort in his own name, he gave it the combined title of Khwája Phúl; but in Government records the name still appears sometimes as Itimádnagar.¹ Whether the displeasure of his royal mistress pursued him further is uncertain; but tradition records that he built a mausoleum and had himself buried therein, either alive or after committing suicide by swallowing diamond powder. The tomb is still held in great veneration by Hindús and Muhammadaus. The red sandstone facings were stripped from the fort by the Nawáb Vazír Ásaf-ud-daula (1775-1794), who carried them off to Lucknow. This fort was repaired and surrounded with an entrenchment by the Marhattas, but the whole was dismantled after the mutiny. The village is divided into parts: that within the fort wall being known as Bhítar-kot, that without as Bahar-kot. The latter is inhabited by a large body of Kurmís, by whom the village is richly cultivated.

MAHARÁJPUR, a considerable village in parganah Sárh Salempur, stands on the Grand Trunk Road, 13 miles south-east of Cawnpore. The population in 1872 numbered 2,265 persons. Here are an encamping-ground for troops, a first-class police-station, and an imperial post-office.

MAJPAWAN, a large village in parganah Jájman, stands 12 miles south of Cawnpore, and had in 1872 a population of 2,620 inhabitants. It once gave its name to a parganah now merged in that of Jájman, and is the parent village of the Dhanjei Bráhmans, who were Chaudharís of the former.

MAKANPUR, a village of parganah Bilhaur, stands on the meeting of three metalled roads, 40 miles north-west of Cawnpore, and contained in 1872 a population of 2,802 souls. It is famous for its two annual fairs held, the first on the Basant on early days of the *holi* festival, the second (known as the Urs)² in the month of Jamád-ul-awwal. The former is of greater impor-

¹ The local tradition is given for what it is worth. But the legendary founder of Itimádnagar can certainly be no other than one Phúl Málik Khwája Sarái, ennobled under the title of Itimád Khan by Akbar (1566-1605). Phúl was his own name, and not that of a royal mistress. (See Blochmann's *Ann. Akbari*, Vol. I. (1866), pp. 13, 428. ² The word *urs*, which literally means "nuptials" or a "wedding feast," has come to be applied to oblations offered at religious festivals.

tance from a commercial, the latter from a religious point of view. The Basant fair was instituted but seventy years ago. Although attended by traders of all kinds, it is principally a market for horses and cattle, which are brought hither in considerable numbers. The arrangements for the fair are made by the Magistrate of the district, who deputes a subordinate, and a native assistant surgeon to attend this meeting. The expenses of erecting booths, repairing the roads, &c., are met from a tax of 10 per cent. on purchasers, by the rents of the booths themselves, and by offerings at the shrine of Madár Sháh. What remains of these offerings after defraying expenses and repairing the shrine—a sum generally amounting to about Rs. 600 a year—is divided amongst the khádims or gurdians attached to that shrine, who are reputed descendants of the saint's sister. Officers of the police and native cavalry visit the Basant in order to purchase remounts; but Mr. Daniell, a recent Magistrate of Cawnpore, considers the fair to be declining as a mart for horses. In 1877, however, at the Basant fair 6,770 animals of all sorts were sold as against 5,000 only in 1862. The total purchase-money amounted to Rs. 1,27,644. Bullocks fetched an average price of Rs. 15, horses of Rs. 40, and camels of Rs. 36. Prizes were offered to the amount of Rs. 500, but the committee felt unable to award more than Rs. 135. Regarded by the Muslims as a shining light of their own faith, and by Hindus as an incarnation of the god Lakshman, Madár Sháh is equally venerated by members of both religions. To the sanctity of his tomb the two fairs of Makanpur owe their existence. Crowding to his shrine, pilgrims thrust through its marble lattice-work, or cast on its roof, coins which are not invariably genuine. The surrounding court-yard is often littered with the black hair of Hindu boys, who here have their heads shaved for the first time *churávarana*, *mundan*. Food provided by the richer votaries is cooked in huge cauldrons, and, leaping therein, religious mendicants distribute by ladle the seething mass. While thus occupied they are believed to suffer no hurt from scalds or burns. A large drum (*nakára*) is kept in a building¹ expressly constructed for it by Rájá Bhágmál Ját of Bithúr, and on the great day of the fair a band of drums and cymbals discourses music which to western ears is hardly melodious. Sir Henry Elliot² thus gives the history of the saint in whose honour all this ceremony takes place. Badi-ud-dín Sháh Madár was a converted Jew, who is said to have been born at Aleppo in 1050 A. D., and to have come to India in the reign of Sultan Ibráhím

¹ Such buildings are often rooms placed over a gateway and known as *naukhán*.
² Supplementary Glossary, article *Durg Madár*, which quotes a work called *Musá-i-madán*.
 Mr. Beames adds a note referring to the following authorities: A. S. J., 1881, Vol. IV p. 76; *Tubákh-i-Shahjahaní*, p. 15; *Yadgar-i-Baháduri*, p. 281; *Daulat Rai Chaman*, p. 244, and III., 307.

Sharkī,¹ taking up his abode between Cawnpore and Farukhabad. From his new home he expelled the ogre Makān Deo, after whom the place is apparently named; and here he died in 1433, at the good old age of nearly four hundred years. His tomb, which is a handsome structure, was raised over him by Sultan Ibrāhīm. He is believed to be still living, and is therefore often styled *Zinda* : Shāh Madār. The prophet Muḥammad gave him the power of *habs-i-dam*, or retention of breath, and hence arose his longevity, as the number of his respirations was diminished at pleasure. The class of holy mendicants named Madāriā are an insolvent pertinacious body, and march in bands, carrying peacock's feathers and shouting "Dam, dam, Madār." According to Sir H. Elliot they dress generally in black and are much addicted to the use of intoxicating drugs. The Khādims in 1876 numbered 302, and the share of the offerings received by each is therefore very small. The married and widows take full shares, bachelors (adult and minor) half shares, while *femmes couvertes* and unmarried girls take apparently no share at all. In order, therefore, to support themselves and their families, the Khādims adopt in the interval between the two fairs the calling of wandering bedesmen, subsisting on the alms of the charitable or credulous. Many, too, have anticipated their share by borrowing from usurers, and though once proprietors of the village they have now lost nearly the entire estate.

MANGALPUR, a village in parganah Derāpur, stands four miles south of Jhīnjhak railway station and 40 from Cawnpore. The population amounted in 1872 to 2,177 persons. Mangalpur was formerly called Neora, and inhabited by a line of Gaur Rānās; but the name was changed by Maugal Khān, to whom the parganah had been granted free of revenue. An indigo factory has been lately built here by Mr. Martin. The village contains a second-class police-station and imperial post-office. Mangalpur gave its name to the old parganah so called, which was amalgamated with Derāpur in 1809 A.D.

MÁWAR, a small village of parganah Bhognipur, stands at the point where the metalled Kālpī road crosses the Sengur, 31 miles from Cawnpore. It had in 1872 a population of 79 inhabitants. Máwar is remarkable for the tomb of Hazrat Mutāhar, one of the four principal disciples of Madār Shāh (see MAKANPUR). At this shrine a fair is held in Baisākh (April-May), and the story goes that the oil in the lamps then lighted diminishes not, though burning all night. Another legend says that the leaves of an ancient *nīm* growing beside the tomb used to taste sweet during the eight days of the fair, but the tree is now dead. For the better support of the saint's descendants and

¹ Of Jauhar. The long reign of this monarch extended from 1101 to 1810.

better repair of the mosque, the village was kept free of revenue until 1840, when a light demand was imposed.

MUSANPUR or MASWANPUR, a large village in parganah Jajmau, is distant 6 miles west of Cawnpore, and had in 1872 a population of 3,477 persons. It once gave its name to a parganah, now embodied in that of Jajmau. A large market is held here twice a week.

MUSANAGAR, a town of parganah Bhognipur, stands on the banks of the Jumna, near its confluence with the Sengur, 31 miles distant from Cawnpore. Unmetalled roads connect it with that city as well as Bhognipur and Ghátampur. As the *entrepôt* of the morinda (*al*) dye-trade, Musanagar is a place of no little commercial importance, but it is being somewhat impoverished by its more thriving neighbour, Ghausganj. At the last census (1872) Musanagar had 2,406, or, including Ghausganj, 5,315 inhabitants. Musanagar proper is divided into two separate quarters, Azimgarh and Garh or Umrgharh. The former was founded by Azim Sháh, son of Aurangzib (1658-1707), while the latter is the site of the original fort built by the Ponwárs in 1501 *sambat*. This stronghold is said to have owed its existence to Kuber Singh of Dhára Nagari in Ujjain, who, stopping near the Deojani tank to perform oblations to his deceased ancestors, was pleased with the place and settled there. The tank itself was built by Deojáni, the wife of Rája Jiját (see JAJMAU). It is a regular halting-place for pilgrims on their way to Gaya, and a favourite spot for offering the usual cake (*pinda*) to the *manes* of one's forefathers. Here exists a very ancient temple dedicated to Mukta Devi. Mr. Daniell thinks that from its construction it may safely be assigned to the period of Buddhism. "Except that it is on a much smaller scale, it closely resembles the pre-Muhammadan portions of the Atála masjid at Jaunpur, believed by competent judges to have been a Buddhist *vihára*." The legend is that during the Tretáyúg, Satiji, daughter of Rája Vashu, quarrelled with her father at a sacrifice (*bíhṃ bhṃj*) he was performing. The parent was unreasonable, and the daughter, assuming the power of a deity, flew towards the skies; as she did so the pearl from her forehead fell on this spot, then occupied by the castle of Rája Bal; and that pious prince hereon built a shrine to Mukta Devi or the Pearl Goddess. Images and distinctive emblems of very old date have been dug up in the vicinity of the present temple, which, they say, was respected even by the iconoclastic Aurangzib. The modern temple was built and repaired by Gangádhara, Gurúgharúda or household chaplain of the Marhattas. Different votaries have at various times built the surrounding buildings. The Chankidári Act (XX. of 1856) is in force here, and from the proceeds of the house-tax thereby imposed an establishment

of 10 watchmen and a *jamadar* is maintained. There are also a second-class police-station and imperial post-office. There are three masonry gháts or landing-places on the river Jumna.

NARWAL, the capital of the combined Sárh Salempur tahsíl, is a village near the Pándú, 18 miles from Cawnpore, and contained in 1872 a population of 2,514 inhabitants. It is of little commercial importance, but is remarkable for a settlement of cloth-printers and dyers, who ply their trade in the north of the town. Narwal gives his title to a Chauhán Rája, whose family branched in the beginning of the century from that of Rampúr. They claim descent from the Mainpuri Chauháns; and the founder of the family in this district was Ghanshyám Deo, a vassal of Hindu Singh Chandel, Rája of Sachendi, to whose favour he owed his prosperity. This branch of the family is fast decaying, being only maintained in respectable position by the help of Sidhári Lál Chaug, who lends them money on account of a long-standing friendship. The headquarters of the tahsíl were removed to Narwal in 1843 on account of its central position. The town contains a second-class police-station, an imperial post-office, and school. The Chaukidári Act (XX. of 1856) is in force, and the annual receipts from the house-tax thereby imposed amount to about Rs. 325. Out of this income an establishment of three watchmen is maintained.

PATARA, a large village in parganah Ghátampur, stands on the Hanúr-pur road, 20 miles south from Cawnpore. It had in 1872 a population of 3,241 inhabitants, and is the parent village of a large body of Báis Thákurs.

RÁJPUR, a village of parganah Bhognipur, stands on the Kálpi and Etáwa road, 43 miles from Cawnpore. The population amounted in 1872 to 1,979 persons. It was built by Rája Todar Mal Khatri, the celebrated finance minister of Akbar (1556-1605), and is sometimes called Rájpur Todar. Except for the memory of its founder, the village is in no way remarkable.

RASDHAN, a village of parganah Derápur, stands on the Derapur-Sikandra road a little to the north of the old Mughal road, 12 miles from Cawnpore. The population in 1872 numbered 3,367 souls. A market is held here on Tuesdays and Saturdays. It has a local celebrity as the place where Narindargir, *jágirdár* of parganah Sikandra, fixed his residence. His widow, known as the Ráni of Rásdhán, lives in Cawnpore on a third share of the pension allowed by the British Government in lieu of the profits of the *jágir*. The other two-thirds were allotted to the illegitimate sons of Narindargir, but were confiscated for rebellion in 1857-58.

RASULABAD, the capital of the parganah so named, lies 40 miles north-west of Cawnpore and 9 north of Jhínjhak railway station. It contained in

1872 a population of 4,331 inhabitants, and has a tahsili, a first-class police-station, an imperial post-office, and tahsili school. The fort, in which the tahsili offices are located, was built by Govind Rao Pandit, governor of this province under Marhatta rule (1756-1762).

RASÚLABAD, a parganah or tahsil of the Cawnpore district, is bounded on the east by parganahs Shiurápur and Bilhaur; on the north-west by the Farukhabad and Etáwa districts; on the west again by the latter district; on the south-west by parganah Derápur, and on the south-east by parganah Akbarpur. According to settlement records it contained 145,225 acres, of which 50,777 were unassessable, 22,446 culturable, and 72,002 cultivated.

The soil of the parganah is in most places a fertile loam, changing to a reddish sandy soil on the banks of the Rind, and stiffened into a hard clay wherever water lodges. Irrigation is plentiful, both from a canal distributary and from wells, masonry or earthen. In the north, water is also furnished by several large swamps or *jhils*, on which grow extensive crops of rice. The parganah is drained not only by the Rind, but also by the Choya and Siyári brooks, and in its extreme northern corner by the Pándu. It is connected by unmetalled roads with Bilhaur and the Jhinhak railway station.

The parganah derives its name from Rasúl Khán, a prefect or *ámil* under the Mu-almán rule, who built the mud fort now occupied by the tahsildári building. It is sometimes called Malgosa, the origin of which name is unknown.

The current settlement. The current settlement was effected by Mr. Evans, who assumed the following rent-rates for the main divisions of soil :—

Soil.	Rate per acre.			
	Irrigated.		Unirrigated.	
	Rs. s. p.		Rs. s. p.	
Gauhán	...	...	...	...
Manjha	...	...	...	...
Barba	...	...	...	...
	7	15	5	6
	6	2	4	5
	4	3	11	3

On the foundation of these rates the revenue was based in the usual manner. It amounted to Rs. 1,95,750, or, including the 10 per cent. cess and *patwáris'* fees, to Rs. 2,25,112. Its incidence per acre was Re. 1-5-6 on the total, Rs. 2-1-2 on the culturable, and Rs. 2-11-6 on the cultivated area.

Settlement areas¹ areas may be compared as follows :—

Present	...	145,225	...	50,777	3,431	16,522	2,299	48,610	23,392	72,002	94,448
Past		142,613	2,634	56,458	...	14,163	8,027	41,827	19,502	61,329	83,521

and 30,490 cultivators were distributed over the 216 estates (*maháls*) of the

Landholders and parganah. The principal proprietary castes are the Granthos, who are members of the same tribe as settled in parganah

Their tenures.

Kasûlebud,	168	106	42,537	1,15,610	26	12,527	35,120	35	14,764	38,420	1	2,172	6,600
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¹ See note, page 199.

Twenty-eight villages were owned by single individuals, 37 by less than five sharers, and 10 by more than 50 sharers each.

During the currency of the expired settlement only one village was sold and one farmed for arrears of revenue, but nearly one-third of the parganah changed hands through private transfers. Such alienations took place chiefly during the earlier years of the settlement. The price of land per cultivated acre rose during the same period from Rs. 8-0-5 to Rs. 29-13-6 in private transactions, and from Rs. 3-13-9 to Rs. 12-5-11 in public sales. Hence it may be inferred that the pressure of the former revenue demand became lighter in the lapse of years, and that the value of land increased proportionately with increased irrigation, tillage, and prices.

Cultivators and their tenures

The tenures of the cultivating classes, chiefly Thākurs, Brāhmīns, and Lodhās, may be thus classified:—

Land held by				Proportion	Average area of holding in acres.	Rate of rent per acre
						Rs. a p
Proprietors as such	...	...	...	87	7 "	...
Occupancy tenants	...	Resident	...	14	11	4 14 11
		Non-resident	..	99	2 1	4 0 8
Tenants-at-will	...	Resident	...	91	23	5 0 2
		Non-resident	...	26	13	4 12 10

Kharif or autumn crops occupied at measurement 34,424 acres, or 48·6 per cent. of the cultivated area, while *rabi* or spring crops covered 37,408 acres, or 52·2 per cent of the same. Of autumnal growths cotton occupied 9,211, joār 13,208, and bājra 530 acres. The principal spring crops were wheat (7,006 acres), *bighra* (25,509 acres), and sugarcane (2,236 acres). According to the census of 1872, parganah Rasūl-abad contained 153 inhabited villages, of which 32 had less than 200 inhabitants; 50 had between 200 and 500; 43 had between 500 and 1,000; 22 had between 1,000 and 2,000, three had between 2,000 and 3,000, and three had between 3,000 and 5,000.

The total population in 1872 numbered 98,505 souls (44,832 females), giving 442 to the square mile. Classified according to religion, there were 95,827 Hindūs, of whom 42,612 were females; and 4,678 Musalmāns, amongst whom 2,220 were females. Distributing the Hindu population amongst the four great classes, the

census shows 15,204 Bráhmans, of whom 7,037 were females; 10,989 Rájputs, including 4,389 females, and 1,186 Baniyás, (497 females); whilst the great mass of the population is comprised in the other castes of the census returns, which show a total of 66,448 souls (30,689 females). The principal Bráhman subdivision found in this parganah is the Kanaujiya (15,129). The chief Rájput clans are the Gahlot (2,047), Gaur (1,057), Chandel (411), Chauhán (251), Ráthor (227), Gáharwár (123), Parihár (102), Sombansi, Súrajbansi, Chamargaur, and Janwár. The Baniyás belong chiefly to the Purwál (499), Dhúsar (331), and Umar (202) subdivisions. The most numerous amongst the other castes are the Ahir (12,492), Chamár (9,629), Lodhá (5,945), Káchhi (4,752), Gadariya (4,233), and Teli (3,464). The Musalmáns are distributed amongst Shaikhs (3,036), Patháns (1,257), Sayyids (320), and Mugháls, or entered as without distinction.

The occupations of the people are shown in the statistics collected at the census of 1872. From these it appears that of the male adult population (not less than fifteen years of age)

108 are employed in professional avocations, such as Government servants, priests, doctors, and the like; 2,455 in domestic service, as personal servants, water-carriers, barbers, sweepers, washermen, &c.; 656 in commerce, in buying, selling, keeping or lending money or goods, or the conveyance of men, animals, or goods; 21,701 in agricultural operations, 4,600 in industrial occupations, arts and mechanics, and the preparation of all classes of substances, vegetable, mineral, and animal. There were 4,710 persons returned as labourers and 623 as of no specified occupation. Taking the total population, irrespective of age or sex, the same returns give 216 as landholders, 58,836 as cultivators, and 37,201 as engaged in occupations unconnected with agriculture. The educational statistics, which are confessedly imperfect, show 1,360 males as able to read and write out of a total male population numbering 53,673 souls.

RATANPUR, an important village in parganah Rasúlábád, stands 36 miles from Cawnpore, and had in 1872 a population of 3,126 persons.

RÁWATPUR, a small town of parganah Jajmáin, lies five miles west of Cawnpore, and in 1872 contained 3,699 inhabitants. Here is the seat of a Chandel *Ráwat*, from whose title the town derives its name.

RÓRA, a village in parganah Akbarpur, is distant 28 miles west of Cawnpore, and had by the last census (1872) a population of 1,811 souls. Here is a station of the East Indian Railway and an imperial post-office. A market is held here on Mondays and Thursdays, and a native has built in the village an indigo factory.

SACHENDI or **CHACHENDI**, a town of parganah Jájmau, stands on the Kálpi road, 13 miles from Cawnpore, and in 1872 contained 84,802 inhabitants. The town has an encamping-ground for troops, a first-class police-station, and an imperial post-office. It is four miles from Bhánpur railway station. Sachendi was the chief residence of a branch of Chandel Thákurs, whose head bore the title of Rájá. For his rebellion in 1857-58 the estate was confiscated and sold by auction.

SANJETI or **SAJETI**, a village in parganah Ghátampur, stands on the Hamírpur road, 33 miles from Cawnpore, and had in 1872 a population of 980 souls. Here is a second-class police-station.

SÁRH, the town which once gave its name to the obsolete parganah so named, lies 15 miles south-east of Cawnpore, and has an almost entirely agricultural population of 1,983 persons.

SÁRH SALEMPUR or **NARWAL**, the most eastern parganah in the Cawnpore district, is bounded on its convex north-eastern frontier by the Ganges, which separates it from the Unáo district; on the north-west and south-west by parganahs Jájmau and Ghátampur respectively, and on the south-east by the Fatehpur district. It contains according to its settlement records 136,755 acres, of which 31,818 are unassessable, 22,910 culturable, and 79,027 cultivated; but these figures are liable to slight alterations through the vagaries of the Ganges, which subjects the river-side villages to constant change. The Grand Trunk Road from Allahabad to Delhi passes through the north of the parganah, and the East Indian Railway, running parallel to that road, has at Phuphuár a station named after the neighbouring village of Sirsaul. A metalled road connects Mahárájpur with the old indigo factory of Najafgarh, and an unmetalled road connects Sirsaul with Narwal, the capital of the parganah, while several roads of the latter class converge upon the town of Sárh. The rivers Pándu and Rind cross the parganah from north-west to south-east, the former disembodying into the Ganges at the junction of the Cawnpore and Fatehpur districts. A small area is drained by the Paghaiya water-course, a tributary of the Pándu; while a nameless stream traverses the large úsar plains in the north-west of the parganah, and cutting its way through the cliff of the Ganges, joins that great river. Two land-locked basins at Rahnas and Saibassi are the only lakes of importance, but there is a very large pond at Tilsahri. The Halwákhani tributary of the Ganges canal, prolonged beyond the discharge of that canal into the Ganges, waters a comparatively small acreage and terminates in a ravine of the river Pándu.

Sārī Salempur was composed of several parganahs or parts of parganahs thrown together for the sake of compactness. These were History. Sārī Salempur, Dōmanpur, Kora, Majhāyan, and Jājman. Sārī practically corresponded with the tribal limits of the Gautam Thākurs, and Salempur with those of the Bais clan in the south of the parganah. The Ghatampur border is occupied by Jagaubansi Brāhmins. The Narwal estate was bestowed on Chauhāns of the Ramcīpur family before 1801. The history of all these tribes has been given at sufficient length above. The most important event of recent times was the settlement of the land revenue lately completed by Mr. Wright. The records give the following classification of the present and past areas:—

	Total area.	UNASSESSED AREA		ASSESSABLE AREA						Total assessable area.
		Revenue-free.	Unculturable waste.	Grove.	Culturable waste.	Fallow.	Cultivated.			
							Wet.	Dry.	Total.	
	Acres.	Acres.	Acres.	Acres.	Acres.	Acres.	Acres.	Acres.	Acres.	Acres.
Present,	136,755	11	34,807	6,468	13,558	2,884	40,224	38,808	79,027	101,094
Past ...	131,431	5,460	43,821	...	4,696	2,251	51,846	23,355	75,201	82,151

Of the entire area, therefore, 21·1 per cent. is unassessed and 75·9 per cent. assessed, while of the latter 78·0 per cent. is cultivated. Of the cultivated area, again, 51·4 per cent. is irrigated, chiefly from masonry wells, but largely also from the canal. No less than 318 wells have been sunk in the last thirty years, and the canal now waters 5,654 acres

Mr. Wright lowered the revenue by Rs. 6,974, that is, from Rs. 2,35,814 to Rs. 2,28,870. The chief cause of the reduction was the over-assessed condition of the Najafgarh estate, which called for heavy relief. The incidence of the revised demand is as follows:—

On total area	On culturable area	On cultivated area.
Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.
1 11 11	2 4 6	2 15 0

Landholders and
their tenures.

The tenures of the landholders who pay this revenue
may be thus distributed :—

Number of mahals or estates.	Zamindari.			Perfect pattidari.			Imperfect pattidari.		
	Number of mahals	Area.	Revenue.	Number of mahals	Area.	Revenue.	Number of mahals	Area.	Revenue.
		Acres.	Rs.		Acres.	Rs.		Acres.	Rs.
215	37	39,643	1,14,010	48	19,056	58,410	98	18,932	55,850

Of all the villages but 37 are held by single proprietors, who are 17 in number, chiefly residents of Cawnpore. The estate accumulated by Khagole Singh Chantam was dismembered on his death by division amongst his kinsmen. The Chauhāns of Narwal, whose head is a titular Rāja, are declining, while their estate is gradually passing into the clutches of money-lenders. Amongst the Bais Thākurs, on the other hand, are many intelligent land-owners who have managed to keep and add to their estates.

During the expired settlement 52 per cent. of the property in land was transferred, owing principally to an oppressive revenue demand. The chief case in point is that of the Najafgarh indigo estate. At the time when this property became available for settlement indigo was considered a highly promising speculation. Excessive bids of rent were made for the land by farmers, who were afterwards confirmed as proprietors, their rent being changed into revenue. There followed, however, a depression in the indigo trade, and the estate became unable to bear the high demand assessed upon it in more prosperous days. The value of land has, in spite of adverse circumstances, increased, and its price almost trebled during the thirty years of the past settlement. That price rose, in fact, from Rs. 10-7 to Rs. 29-7-2 in private contracts, and from Rs. 8-11-6 to Rs. 26-18-1 in public auction, the average purchase-rate per acre being as follows :—

	Price per acre			Years' purchase of revenue.
	Rs.	a.	p.	
Private sale	28	12	3	6 0 0
Public sale	16	5	8	5 0 0
Mortgage	14	8	5	5 0 0

The tenures of cultivators may be thus classified :—

Land held by			Proportion	Average area of holdings in acres.	Rate of rent paid per acre.
					Rs. a. p.
Proprietors <i>as is</i>	...	...	6.8	7.0	...
Occupancy tenants	{ Resident	...	52.9	4.1	5 0 9
	{ Non-resident	...	8.3	3.1	3 7 9
Tenants-at-will	{ Resident	...	18.4	3.1	5 8 11
	{ Non-resident	...	5.7	3.0	4 4 5

The assessing officer assumed that the following rates of rent were paid by tenants on various soils :—

Soils					
Gauhar.		Marjha		Barha.	
Wet.	Dry.	Wet.	Dry.	Wet.	Dry.
Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.
9 11 2	6 3 9	6 7 2	5 1 3	4 13 7	3 1 3

The autumn crops occupied 42.9 per cent. of the cultivated area, the principal growths being cotton (3,950 acres), *jaúr* (14,078 acres), and *báira* (3,562 acres). The spring crop covered 45.58% acres, the chief staples being wheat (6,488 acres) and *bijhra* (35,868 acres). Tobacco is largely grown at Domanpur, Sirsaul, and Pásíkhera; a large pond at Barhei-Garhu is utilized for the cultivation of *pán* (*peper betel*).

According to the census of 1872 parganah Sáth Salempur contained 173 inhabited villages, of which 40 had less than 200 inhabitants; 69 had between 200 and 500; 37 had between 500 and 1,000; 21 had between 1,000 and 2,000; and six had between 2,000 and 3,000. The principal towns are Sirsaul, Narwal, and Barei-Garhu. Markets are held at each, but that at Barei-Garhu is most important, grain and cattle being brought hither for sale in considerable quantities. The total population in 1872 numbered 99,303 souls (47,721 females), giving 477 to the square mile. Classified according to religion, there were 95,130 Hindús, of whom 45,758 were females, and 4,173 Mussulmans (1,963 females). Distributing the Hindu population amongst

the four great classes, the census shows 18,678 Bráhmans, of whom 9,393 were females; 10,926 Rájputs, including 4,650 females; and 2,672 Baniyas (1,287 females); whilst the great mass of the population is comprised in "the other castes" of the census returns, which show a total of 62,854 souls (30,128 females). The principal Bráhman subdivision found in this parganah is the Kanaujiya (18,527). The chief Rájput clans are the Kantam (3,865), Bais (2,405), Chandel (550), and Chauhan (165). The Baniyas belong chiefly to the Dhúsar (2,324) subdivision. The most numerous amongst the other castes are the Ahir (13,974), Chamár (7,706), Kachhi (5,812), and Gadaria (3,573).

The occupations of the people are shown in the statistics collected at the census of 1872. From these it appears that of the male adult population (not less than fifteen years of age), 101 are employed in professional avocations, such as Government servants, priests, doctors, and the like; 3,607 in domestic service, as personal servants, water-carriers, barbers, sweepers, washermen, &c.; 270 in commerce, in buying, selling, keeping or lending money or goods, or the conveyance of men, animals, or goods; 17,986 in agricultural operations; 4,509 in industrial occupations, arts and mechanics, and the preparation of all classes of substances, vegetable, mineral, and animal. There were 6,556 persons returned as labourers and 916 as of no specified occupation. Taking the total population, irrespective of age or sex, the same returns give 2,507 as landholders, 48,541 as cultivators, and 48,255 as engaged in occupations unconnected with agriculture. The educational statistics, which are confessedly imperfect, show 3,007 males as able to read and write out of a total male population numbering 51,582 souls.

SHIULI, a large town of parganah Shiurájpur, stands 22 miles north-west of Cawnpore, and had in 1872 a population of 4,179 inhabitants. It has four divisions or wards, inhabited—Tiwaríada and Birtíana by Bráhmans, Dhákan and Hiráman by Chandel Thákurs. It was formerly the headquarters of Shiuli parganah, now absorbed in that of Shiurájpur. The foundation of the town is ascribed to a Banjúra, who, while digging in the forest which covered its site, discovered an image of the god Shiva or Shin.

SHIURÁJPUR, the capital of the parganah thus named, stands on the Grand Trunk Road, 21 miles north-west of Cawnpore, and had in 1872 a population of 7,883 souls. This estimate includes, however, the villages of Rájpur and Barrájpur, which may be treated as part of the town. The public buildings are a tahsili, a first-class police-station, an imperial post-office, and Government school. There was formerly a fort, the seat of a Chandel Raja,

whose family had immigrated hither from Ráhan, but his stronghold was razed to the ground after that chief's rebellion in 1857-58.

SHIURÁJPUR, a parganah or *talúq* of the Cawnpore district, is bounded on the north-east by the Ganges, which disjoins it from the district of Unáo; on the north-west and west by parganahs Bithaur and Rasúlábád respectively; on the south-west by Akbarpur parganah, and on the south-east by parganah Jájmau. Its area according to settlement records, is 174,833 acres, of which 56,627 are unassessable, 24,891, culturable, and 93,315 cultivated.

The parganah consists of the *duábs* of the rivers Ganges, Non, Pándu, and Rind. The strip of land along the Ganges is a high ridge bounded on the river-side by a cliff intersected with deep ravines. The

Physical geography. only drainage which finds its way into the Ganges is that of the immediately adjacent country. The whole strip is ravinous. Its soil presents sometimes a hard barren appearance, and is often sandy, but evens down occasionally into level plateaux, whose surface is fertile and well cultivated. Between the ravinous strip and the banks of the Non, is a productive alluvial tract, entirely free from that alkaline devastator, *reh*. This tract is densely populated, there being over 1,000 souls to the cultivated square mile. The *duáb* of the Non and Pándu consists of a rich level loam (*dúmat*), much affected, however, in its more northern portion by *reh*, whose deposit is ascribed to the obstruction of drainage by canals. There can, indeed, be little doubt that such channels were faultily aligned, or that to them is due the water-logged condition of this nevertheless populous tract. The Pándu-Rind *duáb* has a crisp siliceous soil with a slight reddish tinge (*ptilia*). There are, however, extensive depressions forming part of the chain of swamp which commences in the neighbouring parganah of Rasúlábád; and near such depressions, the soil from the accumulation of aluminous particles has become a stiff clay (*muttiyár*), deserted to the cultivation of rice, fine and coarse. These swamps are drained by the Laukhia and Súpa water-courses. The canal passes down the fork between Non and Pándu, while distributaries pierce the other two *duábs*. Of the total cultivated area, 23 per cent. is watered from these channels, and a good deal of *dúmat* soil in the south of the parganah has been improved by the substitution of canal for *jhál* irrigation. Notwithstanding the abundance of canal water, wells are extensively used; the worst watered tract is that on the cliff of the Ganges. Here, owing to the elevation of the surface, water lies at a great depth, while substrata are so sandy and treacherous as to render well-digging a perilous and unstable venture. The

unevenness of the ground is, moreover, likely to forbid the increase in this direction of canal irrigation.

The parganah is connected with Cawnpore by the Grand Trunk Road, which has an encamping-ground for troops at Chaubepur. Communications. Unmetalled roads from Cawnpore, Bithūr, Shiurājpur, Rura railway station, and Rasūlabad converge upon the town of Shiūli. The East Indian Railway passes through the southern corner of the parganah, with a station at Bhāupur.

Shiurājpur as now constituted comprises the old parganahs of Shiurājpur, Barechamau, Shiuli-Sākhrej, and a portion of Bithūr. To History.. Old Shiurājpur, the domain of the Rāja who derived his title therefrom, were added in 1806 the lands of Barechamau. Shiūli-Sākhrej comprises the territories of the Chandel Rāna of Sākhrej and Chandāl Rāo of Onha. Bithūr was divided between parganahs Shiurājpur and Jājmau in 1860.

The current settlement of land-revenue.¹ Of the parganah as it now exists, the northern and southern duābs were settled by Mr. Buck, and the central duāb by

Mr. Wright. The following statement compares the area of the present and past settlements :—

		Unassessed area.			ASSESSABLE AREA.							Total assessable area.
		Total area.	Revenue free.	Uncultivable waste.	Groves.	Culturable waste.	Fallow.	Cultivated.				
								Wet.	Dry.	Total.		
Present	...	Acres.	Acres.	Acres.	Acres.	Acres.	Acres.	Acres.	Acres.	Acres.	Acres.	
Past	...	174,833	45	56,582	7,977	13,301	3,613	62,610	30,705	93,315	116,206	
		173,455	5,862	63,808	...	11,289	5,235	60,344	26,914	87,258	174,533	

Of the total area, therefore, 69·3 per cent. is assessable, while of the assessable area 77·0 per cent. is cultivated. Of the cultivated area, again, 66·2 per cent. is irrigated from the sources shown below :—

Irrigation from			Total irrigation.
Wells.	Canals.	Other sources.	
19·6	40·8	5·8	66·2

During the expired settlement irrigation increased 3·8 per cent. and cultivation 7·4 per cent. But the northern and central tracts were so highly assessed that revision of settlement produced an enhancement of Rs. 204 only—that is, the revenue was raised from Rs. 2,74,643 to Rs. 2,74,847, the incidence of the new demand being as follows :—

	On total area.	On culturable area.	On cultivated area.
	Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.
Incidence per acre ...	1 10 3	2 5 6	2 15 4

The former assessment had fallen at the rate of Rs. 2-15-4 per cultivated acre

Proprietary body. The landholders who pay this revenue are chiefly Chandel,

Bráhmaṇ purchasers or grantees of Chandel estates, and Kurmís. Of the Chandel *rāj* sufficient account has been already given.¹ The various proprietary tenures are thus classified :—

Total number of maháls or estates.	Zamindári.			Perfect pattidári.			Imperfect pattidári.		
	Number of maháls.	Area.	Revenue.	Number of maháls.	Area.	Revenue.	Number of maháls.	Area.	Revenue.
		Acrea.	Rs.		Acrea.	Rs.		Acrea.	Rs.
447	326	62,321	182,077	29	7,033	20,360	93	23,961	72,410

Sixty-two estates, or 18 per cent. of the total area, are held by single owners. The large majority of estates (127) are owned by 5 to 16 owners, and only 9 (of which Káshipur is the largest) are owned by more than 50 owners each. Transfers of landed property have been numerous during the last thirty years. As large a proportion as 79 per cent. of the cultivated area has changed hands, 70 per cent. permanently. "The mukaddams," remarks Mr. Wright, "have been heavy losers; but intelligent landholders, such as Har Lal and Chiranjí Lal Kurmís of Bairi and Sidhari Lal Chaube of Bhewán, have accumulated considerable estates." This result has in some cases been obtained with the aid of usury and indigo. The price of the cultivated acre of land rose during the currency of the past settlement from Rs. 9-3-1 to Rs. 25-10-11 in private contracts; but the price at public auctions has within the last ten years

retrograded. The average price throughout the thirty years has been Rs. 14-5 per cultivated acre, or about 5½ years' purchase of the revenue. Turning from the landlord to the husbandman, we find the land thus distributed amongst cultivators of different classes:—

Land tilled by	Proportion	Average area of holding in acres.	Rate of rent per acre...
Proprietors as <i>str</i>	12.5	5.0	Rs. ...
Occupancy tenants { Resident ...	52.5	3.0	5 2 4
{ Non-resident ...	13.4	2.2	3 15 3
Tenants-at-will { Resident ...	9.8	2.1	5 9 11
{ Non-resident ...	4.5	2.1	4 12 3

The settlement officers assumed the following rates of rent to be paid by cultivators for the various descriptions of soil:—

SOILS.

Gauhan.		Munja.		Ba. ha.	
Wet	Dry.	Wet.	Dry	Wet.	Dry
Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.
9 14 7	6 3 5	6 15 9	5 1 8	5 1 9	3 5 3

The autumn crop covers 49.3 per cent. of the cultivated area, the principal growths being cotton (6,695 acres), joar (16,749 acres), and indigo (9,912 acres). The actual cultivation of the last-named staple is probably somewhat greater than that recorded, as it had been reaped before the survey measuring parties began work. The land under spring crops amounted to 59.8 per cent. of the cultivated area, and comprises wheat (10,155 acres) and *bijhra* (40,987 acres). Poppy, tobacco, and *pan* are at the same time largely grown.

According to the census of 1872, pargana Shikaripur contained 321 inhabited villages, of which 99 had less than 200 inhabitants; 134 had between 200 and 500; 57 between 500 and 1,000; 26 between 1,000 and 2,000; and five between 2,000 and 3,000. The principal townships or villages are Káshipur, Chaubepur, Shiáli, Shikaripur,

Kakardehi, and Bairi. Important markets are held at Debiganj or Kákúpur, Chaubepur, and Maitha; of those at Kákúpur and Chaubepur some mention has been already made. That at Maitha is a considerable cotton mart. The total population in 1872 numbered 141,842 souls (166,384 females), giving 527 to the square mile. Classified according to religion, there were 1,360,361 Hindus, of whom 63,728 were females; and 5,481 Muhammadans (2,656 females). Distributing the Hindu population amongst the four great classes, the census shows 37,716 Bráhmans, of whom 18,770 were females; 11,778 Rájputs, including 4,827 females; and 1,863 Baniyas (852 females); whilst the great mass of the population is comprised in the other castes of the census returns, which show a total of 8,500 souls (39,279 females). The principal Bráhman subdivision found in this parganah is the Kananjiya (37,618); and the chief Rájput clans are the Chandel (4,784), Gaur (1,717), and Chauhan (1,181). The Baniyas belong mostly to the Dhúsar (1,241) subdivision. The most numerous amongst the other castes are the Chamár (13,066), Ahír (11,340), Lodha (7,549), Koli (6,312), Káchhi (5,560), Gadariya (5,027), and Kurmi (4,733). The Musalmáns are principally of the Shaikh tribe.

The occupations of the people are shown in the statistics collected at the census of 1872. From these it appears that of the male adult population (not less than fifteen years of age), 200 are employed in professional avocations, such as Government servants, priests, doctors, and the like; 4,651 in domestic service, as personal servants, water-carriers, barbers, sweepers, washermen; &c.; 1,538 in commerce, in buying, selling, keeping or lending money or goods, or the conveyance of men, animals, or goods; 27,806 in agricultural operations and 6,373 persons as labourers. Only 1,131 persons are returned as of no specified occupation. Taking the total population, irrespective of age or sex, the same returns give 5,641 as landholders, 73,069 as cultivators, and 63,132 as engaged in occupations unconnected with agriculture. The educational statistics, which are confessedly imperfect, show 3,688 males as able to read and write out of a total male population numbering 7,558 souls.

SHUKRPUR PRAS, a village of parganah Ghátampur, is 27 miles distant from Cawnpore, and had in 1872 a population of 2,576 inhabitants. It is remarkable for the ruins of a fine inn (*sarái*) and cruciform market built during the rule of Azam Sháh, son of the Emperor Aurangzib (1658-1707). These buildings owed their existence to the fact that the Mughal road once passed through the village.

SIKANDRA, a town of parganah Derápur, stands on the Mughal road, 45 miles from Cawnpore. It was in 1872 inhabited by 2,952 persons, amongst whom the proportion of Musalmáns to Hindús was exceptionally large. But the town had in 1847 a population of 3,484 souls, and has of later years declined much. It is named after its reputed founder, the Emperor Sikandar Lodi (1488-1517), and was formerly the capital of a parganah known as Sikandra Biláspur. The parganah was in 1862 amalgamated with Derápur, and about the same time an incendiary fire destroyed an entire quarter of the town. The importance of Sikandra is still maintained by a second-class police-station and imperial post-office; but numerous ruins exist to testify that its best days are past.

The parganah of Sikandra Biláspur derived its second name from a village on the banks of the Jumna said to have been founded by one Rája Mán Singh Pajwár. This somewhat fabulous chieftain is described as an Unchwár Thákur

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who migrated from Nibágarh in the west during the reign of the renowned Prithviráj—that is, not quite seven centuries ago.¹ Obtaining possession of several villages in Etáwa and this district, he fixed his head-quarters at Biláspur, and introduced settlers of four castes, viz, Jarha Lodhás, Kaka Pandes, Bharáwa Baniyás, and Kálsarisht Káyathis. The village of Biláspur is still owned by Lodhás; but if it be true that the Meos overran the parganah 700 years ago, Mán Singh's rule must have been of brief duration. The reputed descendants of the invading Meos now call themselves Thákurs, concealing under the historic names of Chuahán and Chandel their somewhat obscure origin. They are permitted neither to eat nor intermarry with true Rájputs, who despise them and often excite their wrath by addressing them as Meos. These Meos were driven back upon the Jumna ravines by an immigration of Gaur Thákurs. Here they established a still traceable *chaurási*, of which fourteen villages are on this side of the river. A large and powerful brotherhood, they proved during the mutiny the scourge of the surrounding country. Many Ahírs and Malláhs settled under their protection in the ravine villages. On the cession of Bundelkhand in 1804, the British Government decided to bestow parganah Sikandra, free of revenue, on Himmat Bahádur Gosáin as a sop to pacify that turbulent chief. He died, however, before he could be placed in possession, and the parganah was granted instead to his illegitimate son, Narindargír Gosáin, whom it was equally desirable to conciliate. Narindargír died in 1840, and the parganah, in default of lawful heirs, lapsed to Government. It was, nevertheless, decided that the proceeds of his domain should, in the spirit of the grant, remain appropriated

¹ Prithviráj Chauhan, last Hindu king of Delhi, was slain in 1193.

to the family of the late Raja, "i.e., to his two illegitimate sons. The villages of the parganah were now settled with the landholders in possession, and a yearly grant equivalent to the profits hitherto derived from the *jágir* was paid to Narindargir's representatives; a sum was, however, yearly set aside to pay off the late *jágirdár's* debts. The pension enjoyed by his descendants amounted after eighteen years to about Rs. 18,000, and has since increased to Rs. 31,380 per annum. The settlement of 1846 was effected by Mr. (now Sir William) Muir. He found the parganah suffering from the grievous exactions of the late *jágirdár* of his underlings. Narindargir had hypothecated the revenue to farmers who enhanced the demand, took ponds for aqars, and sold up the proprietors at their own pleasure. Had it not been for the intervention of Kurmi proprietors, all traces of village communities would long ago have disappeared. Mr. Muir assessed the parganah at the lowest possible rate, in order to give it an opportunity of recovering from its then depressed condition. The incursions of lawless Meos during the rebellion of 1857-58 somewhat retarded its progress and threw for the time large areas out of cultivation. But, except in times of drought, a calamity which is to be averted by a distributary of the Lower Ganges canal, the parganah is now fairly prosperous.

SIRSAUL or SIRSOL, a village in parganah Sárh Salempur, stands on the Grand Trunk Road, 15 miles south-east of Cawnpore, and had in 1872 a population of 3,470 inhabitants. About a mile south-east of the village is the Sirsaul station of the East Indian Railway, but this station is really situated in the village of Phupbuár. The lands of Sirsaul are remarkable for their extensive poppy cultivation.

SIRSAMAU, a suburb of Cawnpore, had in 1872 a population of 2,915 souls.

TILSAHRI, a village of parganah Sárh Salempur, stands 11 miles south-west of Cawnpore, and had in 1872 a population of 1,760 persons.
